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THE

THE LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN CLASSICS.

HERODOTUS.

HERODOTUS is the moſt ancient of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, whoſe Works have reached us; and though in ſome Parts of his Hiſtory there appear ſome Particulars which ſeem fabulous, which he relates on the Credit of others, and which he himſelf acknowledges to be dubious and incredible; this Circumſtance cannot deprive his Work of the Character of a real Hiſtory, nor can it be denied, that he has faithfully tranſmitted whatever he could poſſibly attain any certain Knowledge of, with regard to the ancient Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, *Lydians* and *Greeks*. He ſpared no Pains to collect the beſt Information that could be procured. To this End, he

travelled into *Egypt*, ſaw all the principal Cities, carefully viewed the chief Curioſities and moſt remarkable Places; and converſed with the Prieſts of that Country, who informed him of their ancient Hiſtory, and acquainted him with their Cuſtoms ſacred and civil. Indeed, he ſpeaks of their religious Rites with ſuch Plainneſs and Clearneſs in ſome Caſes, and ſuch cautious Reſerve and ſolemnity of Reverence in others, that I am apt to believe he was initiated into their Myſteries, and conſecrated a Prieſt of ſome of their Orders. He likewiſe viſited ſeveral Parts of *Greece*, *Thrace*, and *Scythia*: He travelled to *Babylon* and *Tyre*, and was in *Arabia* and *Paleſtine*. Thus, being acquainted with the moſt famous Countries, and valuable Things, and knowing the moſt conſiderable Perſons of the Age, he applied himſelf to write the Hiſtory of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*; and performed this arduous Work with that Judgment, Faithfulneſs and Eloquence, which gained him univerſal Applauſe and Approbation.

THIS great Writer, according to *Pamphyla*, cited by *Aulus Gellius*, muſt be born in the firſt Year of the ſeventy-fourth Olympiad, ſince he was Fifty-three at the Beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War, and but four Years old when *Xerxes* marched into *Greece*. There is no room left to doubt the Place of his Birth, ſince he himſelf has inſerted in the Beginning of his Work, both his Name and Country, *This is the Hiſtory of* Herodotus *of* Halicarnaſſus, *a City of that Part of* Greece *called* Doris, *a Region bordering on the* Meleans: So that we need not have recourſe to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, or any other

ther Authors, to find what Countryman he was. But it is yet neceſſary to obſerve, that he was alſo ſurnamed the *Thurian*; the Reaſon of which *Strabo* thus records: *Herodotus*, the Hiſtorian, was of *Halicarnaſſus*, and afterwards called the *Thurian*, becauſe he went into *Italy* with a Colony ſent by the *Athenians* to build a City, which they called *Thurium*, near the Ruins of the ancient *Sibaris*. Hence it is, that the Emperor *Julian*, in one of his Epiſtles, calls him the *Thurian* Hiſtorian.

We are not ſo certainly informed of the Name of his Father and Mother, though the common Opinion, according to *Suidas*, was, that the Name of his Father was *Lyxus*, and *Drya* that of his Mother. We are alſo wholly ignorant of his Circumſtances and Fortune. It is yet ſaid, that his Parents were of a genteel Family, and that he had a Brother named *Theodorus*. The City of *Halicarnaſſus* being at that Time under the Domination of *Lygdamus*, Grand-ſon of *Artemiſia* Queen of *Caria*, *Herodotus* quitted his Country in ſearch of that Liberty which is ſo dear and ſo neceſſary to learned Men, and retired to *Samos*; from whence he travelled to *Egypt*, *Italy*, and through all *Greece*; and in his Travels, as was obſerved before, acquired the Knowledge of the Origin and Hiſtory of Nations. He then began his Hiſtory; and having laboured in that Work in the Iſle of *Samos*, he returned to his own Country, expelled the Tyrant, and finding himſelf for that Reaſon expoſed to the Envy of his Fellow-Citizens, he retired into *Greece*.

nians, *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians*, he imagined that it was beſt to find them all aſſembled together; it happened very luckily, that they were then all going to celebrate the *Olympic* Games. He concluded this Time to be very propitious to the Execution of his Deſign, and that he had met with the Opportunity which was the Object of his Wiſhes; for he ſhould now find a vaſt Concourſe of the principal and moſt ſelect People of all *Greece*. He appeared then on the Theatre, and rehearſed the Hiſtory he had compoſed, to the high Satisfaction of his Audience; which occaſioned the giving of the Names of the *Nine Muſes* to his Books. This rendered him more famous than even thoſe who bore away the Prizes in the *Olympic* Games. None were ignorant of the Name of *Herodotus*, nor was there a ſingle Perſon in *Greece* who had not either ſeen him at the *Olympus*, or heard thoſe ſpeak of him who returned from the Games. So that in what Place ſoever he came, the Inhabitants pointed him out to one another, ſaying, This is that *Herodotus* who has written the *Perſian* Wars in the *Ionic* Dialect: This is he who has celebrated our Victories. Thus the Harveſt which he reaped from his Hiſtories, was his receiving in one Aſſembly the general Applauſe of all *Greece*; and the ſounding his Fame, not only in one Place and by a ſingle Trumpet, but in all the Cities of *Greece* by as many Tongues as there had been Spectators in that Aſſembly. This may help us to comprehend, that *Herodotus* did not recite the whole Nine Books of his Hiſtory in one continued Series in the *Olympic* Aſſemblies, but only ſome Parts of them, and thoſe ſelect Portions

Portions of it which concerned the *Greeks*. He did not then publiſh the entire Body, but only ſhewed ſome Specimen of this Work; which he might afterwards retouch and finiſh, when at *Thurium*. But theſe two Paſſages, which we have alledged, ſhew, that he lived a long Time after. For, if the laſt of them be really his, which there is no room to doubt, it follows, that he did not put his laſt Hand to this Work till after the Nineteenth Year of the *Peloponneſian* War, that is the fourth Year of the Ninety-firſt *Olympiad*, when he was aged about Seventy-two Years. *Scaliger* computes his Age, making him to have lived preciſely the Space of thirteen *Olympiads*, that is, Fifty-two Years: For, ſo long lived the ſweeteſt Muſe of *Ionia*, as he calls him; and then proceeds thus: He is the moſt ancient Writer in Proſe now extant, the Treaſury of the *Grecian* and *Barbarian* Antiquities; an Author never to be out of the Hands of the Learned, nor to be touched by Blockheads, Pedagogues and Pedants.

He divided his Work into Nine Books, and gave to each of them the Name of one of the Nine Muſes: For it is much more probable, that he himſelf called them by thoſe Names, than that, as *Lucian* imagines, other Perſons beſtowed thoſe Titles upon them, moved by the Eſteem they had for them. This Caſe is different from that of the Three Orations and Nine Epiſtles of *Æſchines*, which are called by the Names of the *Three Graces*, and the *Nine Muſes*; but they do not bear thoſe Names in their Titles. Several, ſince *Herodotus*, in Imitation of him,

have given the Names of the *Muſes* to the Books of their Works.

THE Style of this Writer has been admired by all acquainted with Antiquity. *Cicero*, the beſt Judge that can be alledged in this Caſe, ſays in his Second Book of the *Orator*, that *Herodotus* is ſo eloquent that nothing pleaſed him more; and in his *Brutus*, that his Style is free from all Harſhneſs, and glides along like the Waters of a ſtill River: And, to ſhew his Eſteem, he uſes the higheſt Expreſſion the *Roman* Language is capable of, ſtyling him *The Father of Hiſtory*; not becauſe he was the moſt ancient, for beſides others of leſs Fame, *Hellanicus* of *Mitylene*, and *Charon* of *Lampſacus*, were before him; but judging him the Prince of Hiſtorians, he gave him the Title of *Father*, which the *Romans* ever uſed to denote a Perſon moſt illuſtrious and highly deſerving of the Commonwealth. *Quintillian*, who was an excellent Critic, gives the ſame Judgment. As for *Herodotus*, ſays he, beſides the flowing Sweetneſs of his Style, even the Dialect itſelf, which he uſes, has a certain magic Grace; ſo that it ſeems to contain concealed Numbers. Several have written Hiſtory well, but no Man doubts there are two Hiſtorians preferable to all the reſt: They have two different Qualities, which deſerve very near the ſame Eſteem. *Thucydides* is cloſe, conciſe, and ſometimes through brevity obſcure; *Herodotus* is ſweet, natural and prolix. The firſt is more proper for thoſe whoſe Paſſions are quick; the ſecond for thoſe who are ſedate: The one excels in Orations, the other in Narrative; the one has more Force,

the

the other more Delicacy. If we appeal to the Judgment of Hiſtorians, *Dion* tells us, that his Diſcourſe is grave and delicate; *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, that he is the Model of the *Ionic* Dialect, as *Thucydides* is of the *Attic*. And deſcending to Particulars concerning his Style, he thus deſcribes it: *Herodotus* very much ſurpaſſed all others in the Choice of his Words, the Neatneſs of his Compoſition, and the Variety of his Figures. His Diſcourſe is compoſed in ſuch a Manner that it reſembles an excellent Poem in its perſuaſive Art, and that charming Grace which pleaſes in the higheſt Degree. He has not omitted any of the beautiful and great Qualities, unleſs it be in that Manner of Writing adapted to Conteſts and Diſputes; either becauſe he was naturally not made for it, or that he deſpiſed it, as not agreeable to Hiſtory: For he doth not make uſe of a great Number of Orations, nor Speeches to promote Contention, nor has he the neceſſary Force requiſite to excite the Paſſions and amplify and augment Things. But it may juſtly be ſaid, that in Recompenſe for this, his Narrations are eloquent and agreeable; that his Deſcriptions are exact, natural and faithful; and his Reflections beautiful and judicious. In ſhort, throughout his Work there appears the noble Simplicity and charming Sincerity, which are the moſt eſſential Qualities of a good Hiſtory. *Dionyſius* extols the Happineſs of this Writer, in chooſing a Subject of the greateſt Dignity, that ſhewed his Country in the utmoſt Glory, and proved to a Demonſtration by the uniform Succeſſes of the Battles of *Marathon*, *Salamis*, *Platæa* and *Mycale*, that Superiority

of Numbers was but a feeble Defence to the great King of *Perſia*, againſt the military Virtue and excellent Diſcipline of the *Grecians*. He commends the Smoothneſs and unaffected Simplicity of his Narration, the Decorum of his Speeches, moſt artfully adapted to the Character of every Perſon, together with the beautiful Order and Compoſition of his Hiſtory, which, by following Things, not Time, ever charms to the laſt Word, and leaves the Reader with a Deſire of more: Preferring him to *Thucydides* in every thing, except Brevity, Vehemence and cloſe Reaſoning.

HERODOTUS, ſays *Rapin*, is not every where exact, becauſe he compriſed too much Matter; but ſtill I find him poſſeſſed of ſingular Sincerity, ſince he treats of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, thoſe of his own Country and Strangers, without the leaſt Shew of Partiality. Yet he wanders too much, he frequently leaves his Subject to amuſe himſelf with tedious Digreſſions, which are for the moſt part forced and unnatural, wherein he follows the Example of *Homer*, but with leſs Succeſs. *Longinus* obſerves, that he has ſo perfectly imitated *Homer* in his Dialect, that he deſerves the Name of *Omerikotatos*.

As to the Truth of his Hiſtory, it muſt be owned, that *Herodotus* has been accuſed by ſeveral Authors, of not always cloſely following it. *Cteſias* ſuſpects him in the Hiſtories of the *Medes* and *Aſſyrians*. *Manetho* cenſures his *Egyptian* Hiſtory. And it is true, that what he relates before *Pſammetychus*, and on the Credit of others, is not very certain, which he confeſſes himſelf.

ſelf. It is ſaid, that *Thucydides* had *Herodotus* in his Eye, when he cenſured thoſe Hiſtories which were compiled for no other End than to divert the Reader; and which, though they pleaſed him at the Moment, yet left him without any ſolid Advantage of his Reading. *Strabo* particularly accuſes our Author of this Fault: He tells us, that *Herodotus* trifles very agreeably, interweaving extraordinary Events with his Narration to ſupply the Place of Song, Verſe and Ornament. *Juvenal* alſo aims at him, when he ſays that Ships ſailed over Mount *Athos*, and that the *Grecian* Hiſtory was full of Lyes:

——————————*Creditur olim*
Velificatus Athos, *& quicquid* Græcia *mendax*
Audet in Hiſtoria.

BUT none have ventured to attack the Fidelity of *Herodotus* with ſo much Freedom as *Plutarch*; and his Judgment would be of great Weight if he had not himſelf declared that the Intereſt of his Country had engaged him in the Diſpute. *Herodotus*, relates, that in *Xerxes*'s Expedition the *Thebans*, to eſcape their Ruin, abandoned the Common Cauſe, and joined with the *Perſians*. Though this Fact was true, and *Demoſthenes* afterwards reproached the *Thebans* with it, yet *Plutarch* being a Native of *Cheronæa*, a *Theban* City, could not bear this Affront to his Countrymen, but in revenge diſcharged his Choler againſt the Diſcoverer of the baſe Cowardice of his Anceſtors, in a Book written expreſsly for that Purpoſe, and intitled, *Of the Malignity of* Herodotus. But the Particulars which he objects againſt him, are either trifling, or ſuch as *Hero-*

dotus took upon the Credit of others, and is not obliged to anſwer for; or laſtly, *Plutarch* himſelf, though he blames, was miſtaken in the Truth of them. In a word, he betrays a great deal of Puerility and partial Affectation in that little Treatiſe.

ON the other Hand, all *Greece* by their ſolemn Approbation gave ample Teſtimony to the Fidelity of *Herodotus*, at a Time when moſt of the Facts by him related were very well known. In his Book there appears a manifeſt Character of Sincerity, which even his Enemies have been forced to acknowledge. He examines the Truth of the Facts which he relates; he lays down different Sentiments, and endeavours to diſcover the true one. When he relates extraordinary Events, he tells us that he took them from the Accounts of others; he then declares which he ſuſpects, and which he believes falſe; adding *As it is ſaid, As I have heard, This does not ſeem at all probable, Thoſe who framed theſe Stories relate.* And he lays down for a Rule, that he writes thoſe Things which others report; but that they ought not to be depended on, any farther than they are probable; that the Character of an Hiſtorian obliges him to relate what he had heard, but that he ought not to believe that all that hath been told him is true. After theſe Precautions how can he be accuſed of Lying, when he relates incredible and fabulous Things on the Credit of others? It cannot be denied, but that it was in his Power to acquaint himſelf with the *Grecian* Hiſtory, and that what he wrote (ſome Exaggerations and Embelliſhments excepted) was true. Nor ought his Abridgment

of

of the *Lydian* Hiſtory any more to be ſuſpected, ſince that Empire was by Situation a Neighbour to the *Aſiatic Greeks*, among whom *Herodotus* was born; and the *Lydian* Kings having long warred againſt the *Greeks*, and being ſometimes obliged to invoke their Aid, their Hiſtory was in a ſort interwoven with that of the *Greeks*. Beſides, *Herodotus* was born not above ſixty Years after the Deſtruction of the *Lydian* Empire; ſo that it was not poſſible that the Hiſtory of that Nation ſhould be unknown to the neighbouring *Greeks*. He ſeems very candid in his *Egyptian* Hiſtory, for he ingenuouſly owns, that all that he relates before *Pſammetychus* is uncertain, and that he reports it only on the Credit of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, on whom he did not much depend. Thoſe, ſays he, who will conclude theſe Things to be true; are free to believe them: As for myſelf, I only report what has been told me by ſeveral Perſons. Theſe Things, ſays he again, as well as others which have been related to me, ſeem to be Fables. His Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* does not at all agree with that which the modern Chronologiſts have followed, but almoſt all the Ancients have given *Herodotus* the Preference; and ſeveral have attempted to reconcile them. In his *Perſian* Hiſtory, in many Particulars he differs from *Xenophon*'s *Cyropædia*; but we ought to obſerve here what *Cicero* ſays of the latter Performance, that it was not written with the exact Fidelity of an Hiſtorian, but to exhibit a Model of a juſt Empire.

THE only remaining Work of *Herodotus* now extant, is his Hiſtory in Nine Books, reſpectively intitled with the Names of the Nine Muſes.

His

His chief Deſign was to compile the Hiſtory of the *Perſian* War againſt the *Greeks*, which might have been denominated a *Perſian* Hiſtory or *Perſica*, according to ancient Cuſtom. The ſame Subject was treated by *Dionyſius* of *Miletus* *Hellanicus* of *Mitylene*, and *Charon* of *Lampſacus*; but the Labours of theſe Authors did not divert him from undertaking a new Work; being perſuaded that he was better qualified for ſuch an Attempt than they; in which he was not deceived, in the Judgment of *Theophraſtus*, according to the Teſtimony of *Cicero* in his *Orator*, where, ſpeaking of *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, he ſays, they were the firſt as *Theophraſtus* obſerves, who dignified Hiſtory, and taught it a more copious and ornamental Style, than the Authors who preceded them. *Herodotus* promiſes, in two Places of his firſt Book to write the Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*: There have reigned, ſays he, ſeveral other Kings of *Babylon* (whom I ſhall mention in my Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*). And in another Place: Thus the *Medes* regained the Empire, and what they were formerly poſſeſſed of, and ſeized *Ninus*, (how they took it, I ſhall relate in another Book) and ſubdued the *Aſſyrians*, except the Country of *Babylon*. But theſe Books of *Herodotus* never appeared, but were probably prevented by his Death; for if they had been ever publiſhed, it is hardly to be believed that none of the Ancients ſhould mention them. His Reputation was too great, and Subject too important, to allow them to remain in Oblivion. It is indeed true, that *Ariſtotle* blames *Herodotus* for ſaying, that an Eagle drank during the Siege of *Nineveh*; becauſe, as he affirms, that Bird as well

as

as all thoſe that have forked Claws never drink. And this Fact is not mentioned in all the Nine Books we have at preſent, which leaves room for ſome Authors to conjecture, that *Ariſtotle* meant the Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*, with which the Siege of *Nineveh* naturally fell in; but it is not impoſſible that *Ariſtotle* might have been miſtaken, and quote *Herodotus* for ſome other Author.

THERE is yet beſides aſcribed to *Herodotus*, a Life of *Homer*, which is at the End of his Works; but there is no Probability, that it is the Work of *Herodotus*. The Author of that Life does not agree with him as to the Time when that Poet lived, for he ſays, that *Homer* flouriſhed one hundred and ſixty-eight Years after the *Trojan* War, and ſix hundred and twenty-two Years before *Xerxes*'s Expedition into *Greece*. But *Herodotus* affirms in his *Euterpe*, that *Homer* and *Heſiod* preceded him four hundred Years; and conſequently they flouriſhed later after the taking of *Troy*. Beſides, the Style of this Piece is very different from that of *Herodotus*. He ſays many Things of *Homer*, which do not at all agree with what the Ancients have ſaid of that Poet, and treats his Subject more like a modern Grammarian than an ancient Hiſtorian.

THE Style of this Writer, ſays *La Mothe*, is rather ſweet, clear and eaſy, than ſublime, conciſe and ſuccinct, as that of *Thucydides*; and there is found ſo much Reſemblance between him and *Homer*, that *Longinus* aſſures us in his Treatiſe *On the Sublime*, that none but *Herodotus* perfectly imitated that Prince of Poets, and that he alone is (to uſe his Term) Ὁμηρικώτατος;

&c.

ſo that it is uſual to adviſe thoſe who will improve in the underſtanding of *Homer*, firſt to read *Herodotus*, to the End that the Proſe of the latter may prepare an eaſy Acceſs to the Poeſy of the former, by that Affinity of Style which obtains between them.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* HERODOTUS.

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THUCYDIDES.

WE know nothing certain concerning *Thucydides*, but what he himſelf has delivered in his Hiſtory; that he was a Citizen of *Athens*, and General of the Army in *Thrace*, where he married; that his Poſſeſſions there were very conſiderable, and that he acquired much Eſteem by his Liberality. As to the reſt, Antiquity is almoſt ſilent. It is not doubted but he was of an honourable Extraction, which *Marcellinus*, who has left us a Fragment of the Life of this great Man, deduces from the Kings of *Thrace*, aſſerting that his Grandfather married a Daughter of that Family, whence his Father called himſelf *Olorus*, a Name borne by many of the *Thracian* Kings. His Mother's Name was *Hegeſipyle*, and he reckoned among his Anceſtors *Miltiades* and *Cimon*, thoſe two celebrated Generals of the *Athenians*. It is difficult to decide in what Degree of Kindred he ſtood to theſe illuſtrious Perſons; but that he was related to the Family of *Miltiades* appears by his Tomb, which was a long Time to be ſeen among the Monuments of that Family. Near to the Gates of *Athens*, called *Melirides*, there was a Place named *Coela*, and in it were erected the Monuments called *Cimoniana*, belonging to the Family of *Miltiades*, in which none but ſuch as were

of

of that Kindred might be depoſited. Among theſe was the Tomb of *Thucydides*, with this Inſcription, *Thucydides Olori Halimuſius.*

AGREEABLE to his Nobility of Birth was his Education in the Study of Eloquence and Philoſophy. *Suidas* and *Photius* relate of him, that when a Youth, hearing *Herodotus* read his Hiſtory at the Solemnity of the *Olympic* Games, he wept through a generous Jealouſy and Emulation, which gave Occaſion to *Herodotus* to compliment the Father of the young Gentleman, on his giving an infallible Pledge of his future Glory. He took that (ſays *La Mothe*) for a Sign of the growing Greatneſs of his Genius; and judged that ſo extraordinary an Emotion in his tender Age, proceeding from ſo rare a Cauſe, would produce one Day ſomething memorable, and be followed by that literary Ardour and Induſtry, which give Immortality to the Learned. *Thucydides* (he goes on) lived about four hundred and thirty Years before the Incarnation; and as he was a Perſon of illuſtrious Birth, and had a great Fortune added to the Excellency of his Endowments, he had no Temptation to betray Truth in what he was to deliver to Poſterity; and though ſome have cenſured the Manner of his Writing, few ever queſtioned the Veracity of it.

ANAXAGORAS was his Maſter in Philoſophy, whoſe Opinions having a Refinement above the Apprehenſions of the Vulgar, procured him the Character of an Atheiſt; which Name they beſtowed upon all who did not implicitly believe their ridiculous Religion; and in the End his religious Tenets coſt him his Life. *Socrates*, another of his Scholars, for the ſame Reaſon underwent

derwent the ſame Fate; and no wonder, if this noble *Grecian* ſuffered from the ſame Imputation. But his Character was greatly abuſed by this Scandal; for the Severity of his Morals and his Piety appear plainly in ſeveral Places of his Works, where he ever ſpeaks like a Perſon of excellent Principles, and his Diſcourſe always bears a lively Impreſſion of the moſt rigid and generous Virtue. Obſerve what he ſays of a famous Commander, who was put to death by the *Syracuſians*, after his Defeat: Thus fell *Nicias*, who, of all his Contemporaries, leaſt deſerved to die in ſuch a Manner, as having always been a a zealous Worſhipper of the Divinity. The Acquaintance he had with *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Critias*, *Alcibiades*, *Pericles*, and all the great Men of that Age, which was the moſt renowned for polite Literature and elegance of Taſte of any that ever obtained among the *Greeks*, gave the finiſhing Stroke, ſo as to adorn his Mind with thoſe noble Ideas and Principles which conſtitute the Scholar and the Gentleman, and rendered him an accompliſhed Hiſtorian.

In Rhetoric, he was the Diſciple of *Antiphon*, one, by his Deſcription in the Eighth Book of his Hiſtory, for the Powers of Oratory almoſt a Miracle, and dreaded by the People for his Eloquence. He it was who contrived the Ruin of the Democracy, and ſet up the Government of the Four Hundred; for which he was put to death, when the People again recovered their Authority, notwithſtanding that he pleaded his own Cauſe the beſt of any Man living to that Day.

THUCYDIDES being deſcended from a Race of Kings, approved of Regal Government; and therefore it is no wonder that he intermeddled as little as poſſible in the Affairs of the Commonwealth: Yet though he retired upon the Coaſt of *Thrace*, where the chief of his Eſtates lay, for he increaſed his Fortune by marrying a Princeſs of the Blood-Royal, yet he could not wholly avoid the Service of the State, which proved afterwards to him very unfortunate. For while he reſided in the Iſle *Thaſus*, it happened that *Braſidas* the *Lacedæmonian* beſieged *Amphipolis*, a City belonging to the *Athenians*, upon the Confines of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, diſtant from *Thaſus* about half a Day's Sail. The *Athenian* General ſent to *Thucydides* to levy Forces, and haſten to relieve him, (for *Thucydides* was one of the *Strategi*, that is, had Authority to raiſe Soldiers for Defence of the Government) and he did accordingly. But he came thither one Night too late, for he found the City ſurrendered to the Enemy: For this he was afterwards baniſhed. Nevertheleſs he ſecured himſelf in the City of *Eion*, and preſerved it to the *Athenians*; defeating *Braſidas*, who came down from *Amphipolis* the next Morning, and aſſaulted it. The Author of his Baniſhment is ſuppoſed to have been *Cleon*, a moſt violent Sycophant in thoſe Times, but a moſt acceptable Speaker among the People.

IT was during his Exile that he wrote his Hiſtory, finding more Leiſure and better Inſtructions in the Enemy's Affairs, among whom he lived, as he declares in his Fifth Book, in which he ſpeaks of his Baniſhment, and his Retirement

tirement among the *Lacedæmonians*, by whoſe means he became acquainted with the Myſtery of Affairs, which he had no Poſſibility of knowing any other way. His Lady that he married bringing him a vaſt Fortune, he made uſe of it to collect his Memoirs, and he remitted conſiderable Sums to the *Lacedæmonian* Commanders, to be inſtructed in the Truth of thoſe Things, which his own Party for their own Intereſt had diſguiſed. He retreated to *Egina*, a ſmall Iſland of *Peloponneſus*, where he began to compoſe his Hiſtory: his Exile laſted twenty Years, and he died before he had put the finiſhing Hand to it.

THUCYDIDES choſe for the Subject of his Hiſtory, The *Peloponneſian* War. The common Diviſion of this Work is into Eight Books; the laſt is imperfect, and has been aſcribed by ſome to *Thucydides*'s Daughter. Others make *Xenophon* the Author, but the Style declares it not to be his. The moſt natural Account why this Book differs from the reſt, is, that the Author died before he had time to beautify it, and gave it its ultimate Perfection: For he died, according to *Marcellinus*, as he was writing the Tranſactions of the Twenty-firſt Year of the War, which laſted Twenty-ſeven. The Tranſactions of the other ſix Years were to be found in *Theopompus* and *Xenophon*.

THE Character drawn of this Hiſtorian by ancient and modern Writers of the firſt Diſtinction, will beſt ſerve to give us a juſt Idea of his extraordinary Abilities, and of the Value of that auguſt Work with which he has obliged Poſterity. There is one Virtue, ſays *Dionyſius*, in Eloquence, the

the chief of all the reſt, and without which there can be no Excellency in Speaking. What is that? That the Language be pure, and retain the Propriety of the *Greek* Tongue: This both of them obſerve diligently; for *Herodotus* is the beſt Model of the *Ionic*, and *Thucydides* of the *Attic* Dialect. *Cicero*, in his Book *de Oratore*, ſpeaking of the *Greek* Rhetoricians, ſays: And therefore *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are the more admirable; for though they lived in the ſame Age with thoſe I have before named (meaning *Thraſymachus*, *Gorgias* and *Theodorus*) yet were they far from this kind of Delicacy, or rather indeed Foolery. For the one without Obſtruction glides gently, like a ſtill River; and the other, *Thucydides*, runs more ſtrongly, and on the Subject of War, as it were, blows the Trumpet, and ſounds the Alarm. And in theſe two, as *Theophraſtus* obſerves, Hiſtory has elevated herſelf, and ventures to ſpeak more copiouſly and with more Ornament than in thoſe that were before them.

THUCYDIDES (ſays *Plutarch*, in his Book of the Glory of the *Atthenians*) aims always at this, to make his Auditor a Spectator, and to throw his Reader into the ſame Paſſions and Senſations that they were in who were Eye-witneſſes of the Scene. The Manner how *Demoſthenes* harangued the *Athenians* on the rugged Shore before *Pylus*, how *Braſidas* urged the Pilot to run his Galley a-ground, how he went to the Ladder or Place in the Galley for Deſcent, how he was hurt and ſwooned and fell down on the Ledges of the Galley, how the *Spartans* fought after the Manner of a Land-fight upon the Sea,

and the *Athenians* of a Sea-fight upon Land: Again, in the *Sicilian* War, how a Battle was fought by Sea and Land, with equal Fortune: Theſe Things, I ſay, are ſo deſcribed and ſo evidently exhibited before our Eyes, that the Mind of the Reader is no leſs affected than if he had been preſent in theſe reſpective Actions.

WE may form a Judgment of the Style of this Hiſtorian from *Rapin*, which, he obſerves, is exalted, noble and ſublime, and is the Reaſon of his uſing ſuch frequent and ſuch bold Metaphors, in pure poetical Terms, yet better managed than thoſe of *Plato*; and hence he arrived at Grandeur of Expreſſion, which reigns ſo ſtrongly in his Writings: In which he is ever great without being extravagant in his Thoughts; always natural, yet falls not into any Thing vulgar or common. This he took from *Homer*, whoſe Imitator he was. He propoſed him for a Pattern in his ſimple, though noble Expreſſion, and almoſt in the whole Order of his Diſcourſe, that is lively and animated. *Marcellinus* adds, that he had recourſe to one *Prodicus*, of the Iſland *Cos*, for the exact Choice of Words, and to *Gorgias* of *Leontium*, for Order and Diſpoſition; and beſides that, this Hiſtorian formed himſelf upon *Pindar* for the ſublime Style and the Greatneſs of Expreſſion, which was his peculiar Excellence. He had alſo learnt of *Socrates*, by the Acquaintance he had with him, the Art of a frank and ingenuous Narration, to which he was ſo accuſtomed, and procured him the Gift of Perſuaſion in ſo high a meaſure; true it is, that no Man knew how to uſe his Reaſon better, or to make it more prevalent by thoſe natural but ſtrong

ſtrong and preſſing Turns he gave it. His way of reaſoning by frequent *Enthymeme*, which *Demoſthenes* had ſo well copied, is ſtrong and vehement; and nothing can be more lively or more engaging, than that Air and Dignity which make his diſtinguiſhing Character. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* concludes him to be the firſt Inventor of that conciſe Mode of Compoſition, which has placed him ſo far above all other Writers. We find in the end of that Critic's Diſcourſe at *Tubero*, the Places where *Demoſthenes* has beſt expreſſed the Force and Grandeur of *Thucydides*, in his Imitation. It was upon this great Model that noble Orator was formed, to which he applied himſelf with that exceeding Induſtry, as to tranſcribe this Author's Hiſtory eight Times over, to catch his Character and copy his Excellence, as we are aſſured by his Commentator *Ulpian* the Rhetorician. In fine, *Thucydides* had a Sublimity of Thought, a Choice of Words, a Boldneſs of Imagination, a Vigour of Style, a Profoundneſs of Reaſoning, a Neatneſs of Conception, a Dignity of Colour and Expreſſion, of which none of the other *Greek* Hiſtorians have been Maſters, which gave the moſt ingenious Critics among the Ancients reaſon to acquaint us that he took the true Style in which Hiſtory ought to be written. And indeed, whatever he ſays, whatever paſſes through his Mind, receives a Tincture of Greatneſs and Beauty, beyond what any others can afford us. He is a Genius of an Order above the common Standard, that conceives every Thing nobly, and gives a ſort of Elevation to the moſt ordinary Things.

I MUST

I MUST not omit the Sentiments of a learned Critic of our own Nation, Dr. *Felton*, in his Diſſertation upon the Claſſics: *Thucydides* doth ſometimes write in a Style ſo cloſe, that almoſt every Word is a Sentence; and every Sentence almoſt acquaints us with ſomething new: So that from the Multitude of Cauſes and Variety of Matter crowded together, we ſhould ſuſpect him to be obſcure; but yet ſo happy, ſo admirable a Maſter is he in the Art of Expreſſion, ſo proper and full, that we cannot ſay whether his Diction doth more illuſtrate the Things he ſpeaks of, or whether his Words themſelves are not illuſtrated by his Matter. So mutual a Light do his Expreſſion and Subject reflect on each other. His Diction, though it be preſſed and cloſe, is nevertheleſs great and magnificent, equal to the Dignity and Importance of his Subject. He firſt after *Herodotus* ventured to adorn the Hiſtorians Style, to make the Narration more pleaſing, by leaving the Flatneſs and Nakedneſs of former Ages. This is moſt obſervable in his Battles, where he does not only relate the mere Fight, but writeth with a martial Spirit, as if he ſtood in the hotteſt of the Engagement; and what is moſt excellent as well as remarkable, in ſo cloſe a Style, that it is numerous and harmonious, that his Words are not laboured nor forced, but fall into their Places in a natural Order, as into their moſt proper Situation.

THUCYDIDES, in the Opinion of *Cicero*, excelled all others in the Art of ſpeaking, he almoſt equals the Number of his Words with the Number of his Thoughts; his Expreſſions are

ſo fit and ſhort, that no Man can determine whether he has more illuſtrated his Subject by his Oratory, or his Oratory by his wiſe Reflexions.

QUINTILIAN obſerves he is always ſuccinct and ſhort, and ever preſent in his Buſineſs. *Herodotus* is ſweet, candid, and diffuſed. *Thucydides* repreſents beſt the Paſſions in Motion, *Herodotus* ſhews them in a Calm. *Herodotus* is the beſt at a long, *Thucydides* at a ſhort Oration. This forceth, that wins a Man's Conſent. He wrote a Hiſtory, ſays *Lipſius*, in which he relates neither many, nor great Affairs, and yet perhaps he has won the Garland from all thoſe who have repreſented many and great Occurrences. His Diſcourſe is always ſuccinct and ſhort, his Sentences are frequent, and his Judgment ſound; giving every where excellent, but concealed Advice, directing thereby Mens Lives and Actions. His Orations and Excurſions are almoſt Divine, the oftener you read him, the more you will gain by him; and yet he will never diſmiſs you without an ardent Deſire of reading him again. He has left us a Hiſtory ſo well compoſed, that it will ever be the Subject of the Wonder of Poſterity, rather than of their Imitation.

To conclude this Subject. The Style of *Thucydides* is more noble and lofty than that of *Herodotus*, yet it never fails of being natural; he has Fire, Force and Grandeur: Every Thing in his Writing ſupports itſelf, nothing languiſhes or grovels. This Hiſtorian, and *Livy*, are ſufficient to acquaint a Man what Genius Hiſtory requires. Antiquity has nothing to boaſt of

more

more perfect than their Works. *Thucydides* has eſtabliſhed his Reputation on ſuch a Baſis of Truth and Integrity, that he deſerves to be credited in all Ages. It is hard to meet with one of this Author's Diſpoſition, who though he had been extremely wronged by *Pericles*, yet he always praiſed him as Occaſion offered, and did juſtice in his Writings to the *Athenians*, altho' they had unjuſtly baniſhed him their Commonwealth. In a Word, *Thucydides* was exact in all he wrote, and faithful in all he ſaid; and though ſometimes he ſeems auſtere and harſh, he ever ſupports his Character with Dignity and Grandeur.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* THUCYDIDES.

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XENOPHON.

XENOPHON, the Son of *Gryllus*, was an *Athenian*, born in the City of *Erchiea*, about four hundred Years before Chriſt; he paſſed the firſt Years of his Life under the Diſcipline and Inſtruction of *Socrates*. He became known to the younger *Cyrus* by Means of *Proxenus* the *Bœotian*, a Diſciple of *Gorgias Leontinus*, who was favoured by that Prince, and reſided with him at *Sardis*. *Proxenus*, then *Xenophon*'s Friend, wrote to *Athens* to invite him to come to *Cyrus*; *Xenophon* ſhewed his Letter to *Socrates*, deſiring his Advice; that Philoſopher referred him to the Oracle of *Delphi*, which *Xenophon* accordingly conſulted; but inſtead of aſking whether he ſhould go to *Cyrus*, he inquired how he ſhould go to him; for which *Socrates* reprehended him, yet adviſed him to go. Being arrived at the Court of *Cyrus*, he acquired as great a Share of that Prince's Favour as *Proxenus*. He accompanied *Cyrus* with ten thouſand *Greeks* in his Expedition into *Perſia*, againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*, and his Courage and Conduct appeared in the famous Retreat of the Ten thouſand, whom he brought from the extreme Parts of *Perſia*, victorious over all who attempted to oppoſe their Paſſage. The Hiſtory of this Retreat he wrote in the Work intitled,

The

The Expedition of CYRUS, alſo called *The Retreat of the Ten thouſand.*

AFTER this Retreat, the Loſſes which this Body met with at *Pontus*, and *Seuthes* King of the *Odryſians* perfidiouſly refuſing them their Pay, after they had ſettled him on his Throne, and eſtabliſhed him in his Dominions, obliged *Xenophon* to put them into the Hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, whilſt he went to *Ageſilaus*, King of *Sparta*, and engaged the Friendſhip of that Prince; which rendered him odious to the *Athenians*, who on this Account baniſhed him their Country, but this obtained him the Protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, who gave him an Aſylum among them. He accompanied *Ageſilaus* to the War againſt the *Thebans*, and afterwards retired to *Scyllus* in the Province of *Elis*, with his Wife *Phileſia*, and his two Sons *Gryllus* and *Diodoras*, and paſſed the Remainder of his Days in hunting and writing his Hiſtory. *Dinarchus* affirms that the *Lacedæmonians* gave him a Houſe and Lands in that Place; and it is alſo ſaid that *Philopidas*, a *Lacedæmonian*, made him a Preſent of *Dardanian* Slaves; it is likewiſe recorded that the *Elei* coming to *Scyllus* with their Forces, took away his Lands, and that he fled at firſt to *Elis*, and afterwards to *Lepreum*, whither his Children had eſcaped with ſome Slaves, and that from thence he went to live at *Corinth*.

AFTER this he ſent his two Sons to *Athens*, and entered them among the Auxiliaries which the *Athenians* ſent to the *Lacedæmonians*. They were both in the Battle of *Mantinea*, where *Epaminondas* was ſlain. *Gryllus*, who was among the Horſe, was killed as he was bravely charging

the Enemy, but his Brother who did not diſtinguiſh himſelf came off unhurt, and afterwards had a Son called *Gryllus*. *Xenophon* is ſaid to have received the News of the Death of his Son, whilſt he was offering a Sacrifice, and crowned with Flowers, and being informed of the Loſs, he laid aſide his Chaplet; but when he heard that he died bravely, he reaſſumed it. Some add, that being told of his Son's Death, he did not ſhed a Tear, but only ſaid, *I very well know that I begot him mortal.* The Authors of thoſe Times exerciſed their Genius in writing Panegyrics and Epitaphs on *Gryllus* to pleaſe his Father; and if we believe *Hermippus*, *Socrates* himſelf has been cenſured for being one of them who employed himſelf in theſe Compoſitions. *Laertius*, from whoſe Life of *Xenophon* we have taken what we have now related, tells us, that he flouriſhed particularly in the fourth Year of the hundred and fourth Olympiad; that he went with *Cyrus* when *Xenocrates* was Archon, in the Year which preceded the Death of *Socrates*. He died, according to the Teſtimony of *Steſicles* the *Athenian*, in his Book of *Olympiads* and *Archons*, in the firſt Year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, when *Callidemus* was Archon, and *Philip* Son of *Amyntas* King of *Macedonia*. He died at *Corinth* in a very advanced old; if we believe the Teſtimony of *Demetrius Magnes*.

XENOPHON was a Perſon exceedingly religious, continually ſacrificing, and had the Reputation of being very well ſkilled in that ſort of Divination, which was pretended to be drawn from the Inſpection of the Entrails of Victims.

Victims. He imitated *Socrates*, and was *Plato*'s Antagoniſt. *Diogenes Laertius* ſays, that he wrote forty Books, which have been variouſly divided. The Hiſtorical are the Expedition of *Cyrus*, or the Retreat of the Ten Thouſand; the Continuation of *Thucydides*'s Hiſtory, and the *Cyropædia*; to which may be added, the Panegyric on *Ageſilaus* King of *Sparta*; the Treatiſe on the Republic and Laws of the *Lacedæmonians*; a Tract of the *Athenian* Republic; the Apology for *Socrates*; and the Treatiſe of the Actions and Sayings of that Philoſopher, in four Books, which are rather Philoſophical than Hiſtorical. We have beſides his Œconomics; his Banquet; *Hiero*, or of a Kingdom; of Revenues; and three ſmall Tracts, one on Horſes, the ſecond on managing them, and the third on Hunting, together with the Fragments of ſome Epiſtles.

THIS Writer, ſays *La Mothe*, does not owe the Fame he has enjoyed ſo many Ages to Hiſtory alone, for Philoſophy and Arms have contributed to it; and for theſe three Qualifications he may as well be termed *Triſmegiſtus*, as *Hermes* the *Egyptian*, ſince he is univerſally acknowledged to be a very great General, Philoſopher, and Hiſtorian. He has common with *Cæſar* the firſt and laſt Qualities; and they are not deceived who find a third Reſemblance in their Style, Purity, Eloquence, and Sweetneſs, being equally natural to them both. They have each an agreeable Manner of Expreſſion without Art or Affectation, though no Art or Affectation can come near it. The Surname of *Apes Attica*, and *Athenian Muſe*, with which all

the Ancients have dignified *Xenophon*, is not only a Witneſs of the Beauty of his Language, and of that melliſluous Sweetneſs, which the *Graces* ſeem to have diffuſed over it with their own Hands, (to adopt the Language of *Quintilian*, but it is a particular Mark of his *Attic* Dialect, in which he attained ſuch ſingular Excellence, that *Diogenes Laertius* writing his Life, gives no other Reaſon for the Miſunderſtanding that ſubſiſted between him and *Plato*, than the Jealouſy they conceived one againſt the other upon that Account. Yet *Marcellinus* who attributes to *Thucydides* the Height of Eloquence, gives the loweſt Rank to *Xenophon*, placing *Herodotus* between both. And *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* when he obſerves that *Xenophon* has often imitated *Herodotus*, adds, that the former was always much inferior to the latter.

BUT notwithſtanding this, it is worthy conſideration that *Xenophon* was the firſt Philoſopher who applied himſelf to compiling Hiſtory, which, in what relates to the *Grecian* Affairs, treats of the Tranſactions of eight and forty Years, and begins where *Thucydides* ended, recording the Return of *Alcibiades* to his Country, whom *Thucydides* in his laſt Book left meditating upon it. Nor is it a ſmall Glory to *Xenophon*, or the leaſt Part of his Praiſe, that *Thucydides*'s Books, being then unknown, falling into his Hands when he might eaſily have ſuppreſſed them, or as a Plagiary aſcribed them to himſelf, he took care to publiſh them, by which Tranſaction, every Man may know what Honour he deſerves from thoſe who have an Eſteem for *Grecian* Eloquence or *Grecian* Hiſtory, and

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the modern Critics have not failed to give him equal Commendations. Beſides the Continuation of the Hiſtory begun by *Thucydides*, *Xenophon* (as was ſaid before) has left us an Account of the Expedition of young *Cyrus* againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*, and the memorable Retreat of ten thouſand *Greeks* from the Extremity of *Perſia* to their own Country, in which he had almoſt the whole Honour, as well for his Counſel and Diſcipline, as the Excellency of his Conduct.

His *Cyropædia*, or what he wrote of the Inſtitution of *Cyrus* the Elder, is not an hiſtorical Treatiſe, but purely Moral and Political, where he drew the Portrait of a great Prince without confining himſelf to the Truth of Hiſtory, except in two or three Events, *viz.* the taking of *Babylon*, and the Captivity of *Crœſus*: All the reſt is feigned, and has nothing in it commendable, but the Agreeableneſs of the Fable. The Narrations of this Hiſtorian are very often puerile. *Hyſtaſpes*'s Story concerning the Soldier who was diſcontented with his Meſs, with many other Tales related by *Cyrus* and his Soldiers, are extremely frigid, and the Jeſts which paſs betwixt this General and his Men are frivolous and low, and inconſiſtent with Decorum. His Harangues for the moſt part are trivial and tedious. Every Thing is made the Subject of an Harangue. *Cyrus* cannot give his Soldiers Horſe, and Arms, without making a Speech; however, his laſt Speech to his Sons is very beautiful; his Exhortations to Brotherly Love, founded on Arguments of perſonal Experience and Knowledge, and the many political Inſtruc-

tions in this Speech muſt pleaſe the Reader. His Account of the Soul, which he affirms t be immortal when ſeparated from the Body, an the Return of the Body to its proper Elements is intirely agreeable to Chriſtian Philoſophy. But above all, his Principles of Religion ar moſt divine; whether the Soul be immortal o not, he ſtrictly enjoins his Sons to reverenc the Gods for their Eternity, Omniſcience an Omnipotence, and for preſerving the Order o the Univerſe for ſo many Ages without Confu ſion or Injury.

THE Compoſitions of *Xenophon*, of which w have ſpoken, are ſuch, that as they may ſerv for a Rule to the firſt Miniſter of State, in al the Extent of Politics; ſo likewiſe they are ca pable of forming great Commanders, and givin the World Generals; and we have two notabl Examples of this among the *Romans*; for the acknowledge that *Scipio*, ſurnamed *Africanus* had almoſt always *Xenophon*'s Works in hi Hands, and that nothing made *Lucullus* capabl of oppoſing ſuch a formidable Enemy as *Mithri dates*, but his Acquaintance with the Writings o *Xenophon*. Of which *Lucullus* made ſo good U by Sea, (he who before had a very ſmall Inſigh into the Affairs of War) that he knew enoug afterwards to gain thoſe famous Victories, o which few of the Learned are ignorant, an whereby the moſt conſiderable Provinces of *Aſi* became tributary to the *Romans*. In ſhort, *Xeno phon*, whether he writes of the Management o Family Affairs, or the more arduous Matters o State and Policy; whether he gives an Accoun of the Wars of the *Greeks*, or the Morals of *So crates*

crates, the Style, though ſo far varied as to be ſuitable to every Subject, yet is always perſpicuous and ſignificant, ſweet without Satiety, and elegantly eaſy. In this amiable Author we have all the Politeneſs of a ſtudied Compoſition, and yet all the Freedom and engaging Familiarity of elegant Converſation.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* XENOPHON.

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DEMOSTHENES.

DEMOSTHENES, the Father of the Orator, was a Citizen of *Athens* of the beſt Rank and Quality (ſays *Theopompus*) and ſirnamed the *Sword-maker*, becauſe he had a large Workhouſe, and employed a Number of Perſons ſkilled in that Art; though others aſſert he was a common *Blackſmith*. His Mother (if we believe *Æſchines*) was deſcended from one *Gelon*, who fled his Country upon an Accuſation of Treaſon, and from a *Barbarian* Woman.

He loſt his Father when he was but ſeven Years old, who left him in affluent Circumſtances, for the Value of his Eſtate was about fifteen Talents. After his Death he fell into the Hands of Guardians, who too much conſulted their own Intereſt, and partly through Negligence, and partly through Covetouſneſs, took not that Care of his Education which they ought; ſo that he learned ſcarce any of thoſe Things, which it is the Buſineſs of Parents generally to fix in the Minds of Children, when they firſt begin to enter upon a Courſe of Study. His Mother gave Encouragement to this Neglect, by her too great Fondneſs of him. It is true indeed, he was of ſo tender a Conſtitution, and enjoyed ſuch an ill State of Health, that he could not proſecute his Studies with much Application.

plication. As ſoon as he was ſixteen Years of Age, which is the proper Time for learning of Rhetoric, inſtead of being ſent to the School of *Iſocrates*, who was then in great Eſteem, he was placed with the Orator *Iſæus*, becauſe as his Reputation was leſs than that of others, ſo were his Demands; and it was there that he contracted thoſe ill Habits, which, he himſelf tells us, he afterwards corrected with great Difficulty.

His ardent Inclination to the Study of Oratory was occaſioned by *Calliſtratus*, who being to plead in open Court upon a remarkable Cauſe, the Expectation of the Iſſue was very great, as well on Account of the Ability of the Orator, who had then the higheſt Reputation, as for the Fame of the Action itſelf. *Demoſthenes* having heard the Tutors and the Schoolmaſters agree among themſelves to be preſent at this Trial, with much Importunity perſuades his Tutor to take him along with him to the Hearing; who having ſome Acquaintance with the Door-keepers, eaſily procured a Place where the Youth might ſit unſeen, and hear what was ſaid. *Calliſtratus* carrying the Cauſe, and being much admired, *Demoſthenes* began to look upon his Glory with a Kind of Emulation, obſerving the Applauſe he received from the Audience. From this Time therefore, bidding farewel to other Sorts of Learning and puerile Diſcipline, he now began to exerciſe himſelf, and to take Pains in declaiming, as if he meant indeed to be an Orator: And he ſoon found Occaſion to exerciſe his Talent, for he was obliged to go to Law with his Guardians

Aphobus

Apbobus and *Onetor*; and to write Orations againſt them, who in the mean Time found out many Subterfuges and Tricks to renew the Suits; but being thus exerciſed in declaiming, and ſucceeding in it, though not without ſome Toil and Hazard, he could not for all this recover any conſiderable Part of his Father's Eſtate; however, attaining by this Means a Confidence in Speaking, and ſome competent Skill in it, and having got a Taſte of the Honour and Power which are acquired by Pleadings, he now ventured to advance further, and to undertake Public Buſineſs.

BUT when he firſt addreſſed himſelf to the popular Aſſemblies, he met with great Diſcouragements, and was derided for his odd and inelegant Mode of Speaking, his Periods were confuſed, and his Arguments forced, which made the Whole ſeem very harſh and tedious. Beſides, he had a Weakneſs in his Voice, a perplexed and indiſtinct Utterance, and a Shortneſs of Breath, which by breaking and disjoining his Sentences, much obſcured and weakened the Senſe of what he ſpoke; ſo that in the End being quite diſheartened, he left off Pleading for ſome Time, and forſook the Aſſembly. But partly by the Advice, and partly by the Upbraiding, of his Friends, he determined at length to overcome all Difficulties; and being convinced how much Grace and Ornament accrues to Speech from a proper Action, he began to eſteem it a ſmall Matter, and as good as nothing, for a Man to exerciſe himſelf in declaiming, if he neglected Pronunciation and the Grace of Speaking. What Nature denied him, he reſolved

ſolved to attain by Labour; and his Eagerneſs in the Purſuit of Eloquence was ſo violent, that he found nothing impoſſible or diſproportioned to its Force. So that it was nothing but Ambition that formed him, and made him conquer the vicious Inclinations of an Age that had a Reliſh for nothing but Pleaſure, and that too in a City where all manner of Wickedneſs was authorized by the bad Example of a People devoted to Luxury and Debauchery. And this made him prefer the Converſation of *Theophraſtus* and *Xenocrates* and of the *Platoniſts*, before that of *Phryne*, in whoſe Houſe there was a general Rendezvous of all that was notoriouſly infamous in *Athens*.

NAY, he would impoſe upon himſelf a Neceſſity of retiring for ſome Time from the Converſation of the World, which he did by a very odd Expedient, which was to ſhave half his Head, that on Account of the Shame of that Diſfigurement, he might be obliged to hide himſelf for ſome Months. One may in a Manner ſay of him, that he was content to be buried alive, or at leaſt that he would not live for any other End, but to apply himſelf to the Study of Eloquence, to which he had devoted all his Thoughts.

THIS Retirement, and all the other Hardſhips he underwent, which are mentioned ſo much to his Honour, are evident Tokens, and remarkable Inſtances of the Violence of his Inclinations. Can any Thing be conceived more unaccountable than to go as he did and declaim upon the Sea-ſhore, that by hearing the Roaring of the Waves, he might accuſtom himſelf

not to be diſturbed at the Commotions of the People, and the Noiſe and Tumult of popular Aſſemblies? What is there more painful than to ſpeak, as he did, with Vehemence, climbing up to the Top of ſteep and craggy Places, that he might ſtrengthen his Voice? His Tongue was ſo unweildy that he could not pronounce certain Letters without much Difficulty, to correct which Defect he uſed to declaim with Pebble-ſtones in his Mouth. He alſo practiſed ſpeaking before a Looking-glaſs, that he might thereby acquire a graceful Air, eaſy and natural; and he had alſo Recourſe to a celebrated Comedian of thoſe Times, called *Neoptolemus*, to learn of him how to pronounce well, and make himſelf Maſter of all the exterior Ornaments and Graces of Action. He laboured Night and Day, outwatched the poor Mechanic in *Athens*, who was forced to perpetual Drudgery to ſupport himſelf and his Family, till he had acquired ſuch a Maſtery in his noble Profeſſion, ſuch a perfect Habit of nervous and convincing Eloquence, as enabled him to defy the ſtrongeſt Oppoſition, and to triumph over Envy and Time. By theſe Fatigues, and by this unwearied Perſeverance, he came at laſt to ſurmount all thoſe Impediments in his Speech, and all thoſe other Imperfections which ſo much diſguſted the *Athenians* the firſt Time he ſpoke in Public.

THE Cauſe he undertook in the Commonwealth was fair and honourable, the Defence of his Country againſt *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, as the famous Orations called *Philippics* abundantly teſtify. He behaved himſelf ſo worthily

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in the Cauſe of Liberty, that he ſoon grew famous, and was every where admired for his Eloquence and Boldneſs in ſpeaking. He was adored through all *Greece*; the great King of *Perſia* courted him, and by *Philip* himſelf he was more eſteemed than all the other Orators. His very Enemies were forced to confeſs that they had to do with a Man of Worth and Honour. He obſerved ſuch Steadineſs in his Conduct, that to the Party and Mode of Government which he eſpouſed from the Beginning, he kept conſtant to the End, and was ſo far from leaving them while he lived, that he choſe rather to forſake his Life than abandon his Friends. The Authority, Armies, Threats, and Promiſes of *Philip* could never influence him; and to uſe the Expreſſion of *Plutarch*, All the Gold of *Macedonia* could not bribe him. This made *Antipater*, one of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors ſay, *That had any one of his Miniſters been as uncorrupt as* Demoſthenes, *he had been invincible.* What this Prince adds, gives us ſtill a greater Idea of the Virtue of this Orator: It was the Love of his Country that prevailed upon him to undertake the Government; for he made that the Employment of his Virtue, which others had engaged in to ſerve their Intereſt. Such a Man as this, ſays he, would be very neceſſary for me, to adviſe with me in my preſent Affairs, to hear him who would ſpeak his Mind generouſly and freely amidſt the inſincere Applauſes of Flatterers. Such an upright and faithful Counſellor I want, to direct me amidſt all theſe Court Diſſimulations. But tho' he defended himſelf againſt the *Macedonian* Gold

Gold offered him by *Philip*, who was a ſworn Enemy to the *Athenians*, he could not reſiſt the *Perſian* Preſent that was made him by *Darius*, who was a Friend to the Commonwealth.

HIS inveterate Hatred of *Philip* urged him to ſpirit up a War, by uniting all *Greece* in a Confederacy againſt him; but the *Macedonian* Arms prevailed. In this Action *Demoſthenes* behaved with great Cowardice; for deſerting his Poſt, and throwing down his Arms, he ran away moſt ſhamefully, not at all concerned (ſays *Plutarch*) for the Inſcription which was written upon his Shield in Letters of Gold, *With good Fortune*. He was ſo diſtracted with Fear, that he miſtook a Buſh that caught hold of his Coat for an Enemy, and cried out *Quarter*. This Defeat gave Occaſion to his Enemies to accuſe him to the People, but he was honourably acquitted. After the Death of *Philip* he attempted the ſame Deſigns againſt *Alexander*, he made the Roſtrum to reſound with Orations againſt *Macedon*, and writ Letters to the *Perſian* Officers who commanded under the King in *Aſia*, inciting them to make War from thence upon the *Macedonian*, calling him *Child* and *Changeling*. But as ſoon as *Alexander* had ſettled his Affairs in his own Country, and came himſelf in Perſon with his Army into *Bœotia*, inſtantly ſunk the Courage of the *Athenians*, the People were in an Uproar, and reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors to to the young Prince, and amongſt others they made choice of *Demoſthenes* for one; but his Heart failing him for fear of the King's Anger, he returned back from *Cithæron*, and left the Embaſſy. In the mean Time *Alexander* ſent to *Athens*,

Athens, requiring ten of their Orators to be delivered up to him, but by the Interceſſion of *Demades*, he prevailed with him both to pardon the Men, and to be reconciled to their City.

SOON after this, *Demoſthenes* gave his Enemies a remarkable Advantage againſt him; for they found Reaſon to accuſe him of having received twenty Talents, with a Piece of Plate of great Value, from an Officer of *Alexander*; who being diſgraced for embezzling his Revenues, had retired to *Athens*. This Preſent brought him under Suſpicion, becauſe it came from one who had been a Creature of the moſt declared Enemy the Commonwealth had. *Dinarchus*, urged by the Enemies of *Demoſthenes*, accuſed him on that Account of Bribery to the People, and ſuch was his Misfortune that he could not be heard in Juſtification of himſelf. The Eſteem they had for him was turned into Contempt, and when he came to the Bar he was fined fifty Talents, and committed to Priſon. But ſoon growing impatient and weary of his Confinement, he made his Eſcape. He was purſued and retaken, and then baniſhed. He bore his Exile with an unmanly Puſillanimity, but was ſoon recalled by a Decree of the People.

UPON the Report that *Antipater* and *Craterus*, after *Alexander*'s Death, were coming to *Athens*, *Demoſthenes* with his Party took the Opportunity of eſcaping privately out of the City; but at the Inſtance of *Demades* they were condemned. They diſperſed themſelves, flying ſome to one Place, ſome to another, and *Antipater* ſent about his Soldiers into all Parts to apprehend them. *Archias* was their Captain, and was thence called,

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The Exile Hunter. *Demoſthenes* he heard had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune* in *Calabria*; and croſſing over thither in ſome light Veſſels, as ſoon as he had landed himſelf and the *Thracian* Spearmen that came with him, he endeavoured to perſuade *Demoſthenes* to accompany him to *Antipater*, as he ſhould meet with no hard Uſage from him; but *Demoſthenes* giving no Credit to his Promiſes, took the Poiſon which he had carried about with him in a Quill, and perceiving it had ſeized his Vitals, *Go*, ſays he, *and let thy Maſter know, that* Demoſthenes *will not upon any Account be obliged to the Uſurper of his Country*; and then expired.

AFTER his Death the People of *Athens* beſtowed upon him ſuch Honours as he had deſerved; they erected to him a Statue of Braſs, they decreed that the eldeſt of his Family ſhould be maintained in the *Prytaneum*, and on the Baſe of his Statue was engraven this Inſcription:

If with the Wiſdom of thy Mind
An equal Courage had been join'd,
Greece *ne'er had ſuffer'd thoſe dire Harms,*
Enſlav'd by Macedonian *Arms.*

DEMOSTHENES was of a choleric melancholy Temper; the Heavineſs which proceeded from this Melancholy, made him obſtinate and reſolute in whatever he had undertaken, and his Choler inſpired him with Vigour and Activity to perform it. Tho' this Temper made him ſomewhat peeviſh, yet at the ſame Time it made him ſerious, which contributed [illegible] Reputation: For it was from his Temper that

that the Severity of his Manners proceeded, which gained him the Opinion of a Perſon of great Integrity in the State, and inſpired him with Courage to declare himſelf againſt *Philip* and *Alexander*, the Conquerors of the World.

He had likewiſe naturally a great and exalted Genius and Taſte for all the Sciences, and a Spirit that enabled him to ſurmount all the Difficulties he met with in his Endeavours after Eloquence. To his natural Vehemency he added ſuch lively exterior Actions, that it was impoſſible to hear him without feeling at the very Center of one's Soul the moſt powerful Effects. *Valerius Maximus* tells us that he had a very quick and penetrating Eye, of the Motions of which he took the Advantage to expreſs in his very Face whatever Action was requiſite to his Subject, and to make himſelf look terrible whenever there was Occaſion. He gave his Voice ſuch an Inflexion, ſuch a Tone to his Words, and ſuch an Air to all his Actions, that he gained the Admiration of all that heard him. This Vehemency of Action, joined with that of Expreſſion, is what makes up the Character of that powerful Eloquence which none ever attained but *Demoſthenes*, as *Longinus* aſſures us, and of which *Quintilian* has left us ſo faithful a Deſcription in his Inſtitutions; where he ſays that *Demoſthenes* made what Impreſſions he pleaſed upon thoſe that heard him, by inſpiring them with his own Sentiments and Paſſions, or by raiſing thoſe they were already poſſeſſed of, by making them ſenſible of all his Ardour; and by exciting in them Anger, Envy, or Indignation againſt thoſe he was himſelf againſt; and that this was

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the principal Art in which his Eloquence conſiſted.

WHAT *Lucian* ſays of this Orator, by the Mouth of *Alexander*'s Succeſſor, contributes highly to his Glory. Had it not been for *Demoſthenes*, ſays King *Antipater*, I had taken *Athens* with leſs Difficulty than I did *Thebes*; but he was every where to oppoſe my Deſigns, he could by no Means be ſurpriſed, but was alone more formidable than Fleets and Armies. What would he have done had he had the Command of an Army, or the Adminiſtration of the public Revenues, when we found it a Matter of ſuch Difficulty to defend ourſelves againſt the Force and Power of his Words? King *Philip* reflecting how terrible this Man would have been, had he enjoyed any warlike Command, when the Thunder of his Eloquence was ſo dreadful, ſays in the ſame Place, Let no one call the *Athenians* my Enemies, for I know none I have but *Demoſthenes*; it is he alone that wages War with me, who oppoſes my Deſigns, and fruſtrates all my Enterprizes. So that this incomparable Perſon gave that Prince more Trouble, and more confounded his Affairs, than the *Pyreum* with all its Gallies, or the united Force of all *Greece*. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* confeſſes, that the Eloquence of this Orator made the ſame Impreſſion upon him, as the Myſteries of the Goddeſs *Cybele* did upon her Prieſts. But nothing ſeems more to raiſe the Glory of this great Man, than what *Quintilian* ſays of him, That it was the Eloquence of *Demoſthenes* that made *Cicero* an Orator; and this is what *Tully* himſelf acknowledges

ledges when he ſays, that he made it his Endeavour to imitate him, but could never attain to it. Theſe Inſtances of Applauſe may be juſtly oppoſed to the Invectives of *Juvenal* and *Sidonius*, who have reproached *Demoſthenes* with the Obſcurity of his Birth, as if the Faculties of the Soul, and the natural Abilities of every Man, depended upon the Circumſtances of his Nativity.

NOTHING can give us a better Idea of the great Advantage *Demoſthenes* had over all other Men, in the Art of Pronunciation, and in a graceful Action, than the Teſtimony of his greateſt Rival. For *Æſchines* being caſt in a Trial he was engaged in againſt *Cteſiphon*, whom *Demoſthenes* had defended, for Shame and Grief had retired to *Rhodes*, where ſome of his Friends importuning him to repeat to them the Oration he had made againſt *Cteſiphon*, he read it over to them; upon which they requeſted likewiſe of him to let them hear that which *Demoſthenes* had delivered againſt him, which he likewiſe did, and read it to them very diſtinctly; they all admired it: *But what would you have done*, ſaid he, *had you heard him ſpeak it himſelf?*

To this animating Power of Action he had joined the equal Force of great and noble Expreſſions, of lively Deſcriptions, of moving Paſſages, proper to affect and make ſtrong Impreſſions upon the Mind. All his Diſcourſes were full of expreſſive Figures, of frequent Apoſtrophes, and reiterated Interrogatories, which imparted Life and Vigour, and animated all he ſaid; as *Longinus* obſerves. So that we may truly affirm, never any other Orator raiſed Anger, Hatred, Indignation, and indeed all the

Paſſions, to that Height as *Demoſthenes* did: And this doubtleſs was the Reaſon that made *Demetrius Phalereus* ſay, *That he harangued as if he had been inſpired*; and *Eratoſthenes* in *Plutarch*, *That he ſpoke like an Enthuſiaſt*. For he was, as it were, in Raptures when he ſpoke, by the Heat of his Action, and the violent Tranſport of his Imagination.

WHAT ſhall I ſay of that ſharp Style wherewith he incited the Minds of the *Athenian* Republic againſt *Philip*? Of thoſe bitter Invectives he made againſt *Midias* in order to render him obnoxious to the public Odium? Of thoſe vehement Tranſports of Paſſion he was in againſt *Æſchines* in his Oration for *Cteſiphon*? Of all thoſe frequent Invocations of the Gods? Of thoſe Apoſtrophes to the Sun and Stars? Of thoſe Oaths by Heaven and Earth, by Fountains and Rivers, according to the Principles of the Heathen Religion? and of thoſe ſtrange extravagant Figures, and all thoſe violent Paſſions, and furious Commotions which we meet with in ſeveral Parts of his Diſcourſes? To all which he adds a Tone more thundering than that of *Pericles*, whom he had propoſed for his Imitation. This Vehemency of Action, joined with that of Expreſſion, is what makes up the Character of that powerful Eloquence which none ever attained in ſo exalted a Degree as *Demoſthenes*.

HE had alſo a particular Talent in repreſenting Things exactly with all their Circumſtances, which is of no ſmall Moment, in order to gain Credit with the People; to whom all Things ſeem to have a greater Degree of Probability, if they are but well circumſtanced. He had ſo exquiſite

quiſite an Art in painting all Things according to Nature, that the mereſt Fables, as he related them, would prevail more upon Account of that ſimple plain Mode in which he delivered them, than the moſt ſubſtantial Arguments, than the moſt convincing Truths alledged by others. In theſe Repreſentations of Things according to Nature, he had wonderful Succeſs.

THE Eloquence of *Demoſthenes*, ſays *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, was very artificial, he could make Excurſions, and tread the moſt unbeaten Paths, to come to his propoſed End with the greater Security. But though he had a moſt admirable Talent at diſplaying his Reaſons to the beſt Advantage, and at eſtabliſhing his Arguments upon firm and laſting Foundations, yet was he infinitely more expert at confuting thoſe of his Adverſaries by the Strength of his *Enthymemes*, which are ſo celebrated by all Antiquity. He never appeared ſo omnipotent as when he was powerfully attacked; as we may obſerve in his Oration for *Cteſiphon*, the Succeſs of which riſes as to its Value in Proportion to the Greatneſs of the Merit of *Æſchines* his Adverſary. Never was any Affair tranſacted by two Orators with greater Heat and Fury, or with greater Application; for they were four Years in preparing their reſpective Performances. This Animoſity, which reſounded throughout all *Greece*, brought together from all Parts a vaſt Concourſe of Auditors to aſſiſt at this Deciſion, and to ſee a Trial of Skill between theſe two great Men, who were ſo celebrated for their rhetorical Emulation.

BUT as this Vehemence was the principal Character of this Orator, ſo *Photius* aſſures us,

that thoſe Harangues he made to the People, had more Force and Energy in them, than thoſe he delivered to the Senate; for whatever is great and noble in Eloquence, is ſo to Advantage when recited before a great Aſſembly. It is true indeed, that the Credit he had gained in the State by the Integrity of his Intentions, authorized him to ſay any Thing, and to ſpeak to this People with Indignation and Reſentment, who were of that Temper, that they muſt be preſſed to their Duty. The Acrimony this Orator uſed, and the frequent Inſtances he gave them of his being angry and enraged at them, were not in the leaſt diſpleaſing to them, when they were once ſenſible that there was a Neceſſity of waking them out of that Lethargy into which their natural Negligence and Idleneſs had lulled them. *Demoſthenes*, that he might more ſecurely manage this Species of People, who were proud and haughty, but timid and puſillanimous, made a great Diſplay of his Zeal for the Good of the State upon all Emergencies. They had accuſtomed themſelves to bear his Invectives and Reproaches, by reaſon of the Advantages they often reaped from his good Counſels. Neither was he himſelf ignorant how requiſite it was to appear ſometimes angry and ſevere, that he might be uſeful to thoſe who heard him.

THERE was nevertheleſs in this auſtere kind of Eloquence a great deal of ſolid Reaſon, of ſound Judgment and good Senſe, without any falſe Colours, without any Thing that is weak or ſuperficial; and his Reproaches, how ſevere ſoever, were always taken in good Part, becauſe he enforced them with ſuch weighty Reaſons

and

and Arguments, as were irreſiſtible. His Language was the common Dialect, having nothing in it that was far fetched, or exquiſitely nice; yet it was very pure and highly agreeable to the Delicacy of Taſte then prevalent at *Athens*. But he had an Art of giving his Language, as plain as it was, all the Life and Vigour of which it was ſuſceptible; ſo that he pleaſed by the Vehemence of his Action. It is obſerved, that the longer he ſpoke, the finer his Orations were. I ſhould never end, were I minutely to particularize all that could be produced upon this Subject; what has been already ſaid, will give us an Idea the extraordinary Worth of this great Man, and a juſt Eſtimate of his Merit.

He flouriſhed in the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*. The Time of his Birth and of his Death is uncertain. It is ſuppoſed he was born about the Year of *Rome* three hundred and ſeventy-three, and lived about threeſcore Years.

Beſt Editions *of* DEMOSTHENES.

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POLYBIUS.

THE taking of *Conſtantinople* by *Mahomet* the *Great* happened in the Time of Pope *Nicholas* the Fifth, a Pope not only ſtudious of polite Literature, and particularly of Hiſtory, but alſo a great Encourager and Patron of learned Men. From the dreadful Overthrow of this City and final Subverſion of the *Greek* Empire many learned Men eſcaped, and brought over with them, into *Italy*, that Treaſure of ancient Authors, which, by their Unhappineſs we now poſſeſs; and among others ſome of the remaining Fragments of *Polybius*. The Body of his Hiſtory, as he left it finiſhed, conſiſted of forty Books, of which the eighth Part only is remaining to us entire. As for his Negociations when he was deputed Embaſſador, either from his own Countrymen the *Achaians*, or afterwards was employed by the *Romans* to tranſact Buſineſs with other Nations, we are obliged to *Conſtantine* the Great for their Preſervation; for this Emperor was ſo much in love with the Management and Wiſdom of this *Grecian*, that he cauſed them all to be faithfully tranſcribed, and made frequent uſe of them in his own Diſpatches and Affairs with foreign Princes, as his beſt Guides, in his Concernments with them.

NONE

NONE converſant in Books can be ignorant that *Polybius* was of *Megalopolis*, a City in *Arcadia*. He began to flouriſh in the Times of *Ptolemy Philometor*, and was born about the fourth Year of the Hundred and forty-third *Olympiad*. He was the Son of *Lycortas*, General of the *Achaians*, which was the moſt renowned Republic then in *Greece*. That great State ſent them, both Father and Son, in the Quality of Embaſſadors to the *Egyptian* King; and the Son had afterwards the ſame Honour when he was deputed to go to the *Roman* Conſul, who made War upon King *Perſeus* in *Theſſaly*. He was of noble Birth, and as he received great Gifts from Nature which favoured his Deſign of writing Hiſtory, ſo that Fortune which brought him to *Rome* was of no ſmall Advantage to him, ſince he was indebted to it not only for the beſt Part of his Learning, but for the important Friendſhip he contracted with *Scipio* and *Lælius*, which contributed much to the Renown of his Hiſtory with Poſterity.

BUT the Pains he took in the Acquiſition of every Thing that could put him into a Capacity of writing well and labouring for Eternity, ſeems worthy to be conſidered. He thought he could make no exact Deſcription, nor be confident of the Authority of his Memorials from whatſoever Place he ſhould derive them, if he had not ratified them by his own Inſpection; viewing himſelf the Countries he intended to treat of. He reſolved therefore to be well acquainted with many Places, as well in *Europe*, as *Aſia* and *Africa*, whither he went purpoſely, to be aſſured of what he ſhould write concerning them. He uſed *Scipio*'s Authority to procure Veſſels fit to ſail upon

the *Atlantic* Ocean, judging that what he ſhould there obſerve would prove uſeful to his Deſign. It is certain that he paſſed the *Alps*, and one Part of *Gaul*, to repreſent truly *Hannibal*'s Paſſage into *Italy*; and fearing to omit the leaſt Circumſtance of the ſame *Scipio*'s Actions, he travelled all over *Spain*, and ſojourned particularly at *New Carthage*, that he might carefully obſerve the Situation of it.

POLYBIUS, tho' he principally intended the Hiſtory of the *Romans*, and the Eſtabliſhment of their Empire over the greateſt Part of the World which was then known, yet he had in his View the general Hiſtory of the Times in which he lived, not forgetting either the Wars of his own Country with their Neighbours of *Ætolia*, or the coincident Affairs of *Macedonia*, and the Provinces of *Greece*, properly ſo called, nor the Monarchies of *Aſia* and *Egypt*, nor the Republic of the *Carthaginians*, with the ſeveral Reverſes of their Fortunes, either in relation to the *Romans*, or independently of the Wars which they waged with them, beſides what happened in *Spain* and *Sicily*, and other *European* Countries. The Time which is taken up in this Hiſtory conſiſts of fifty-three Years, and the greateſt Part of it is employed in the Deſcription of thoſe Events of which he was an Eye-witneſs, or bore a conſiderable Part in the Conduct of them. He was fully qualified to execute the great Deſign in which he engaged; for though poſſibly he might yield to one or two of the *Greek* Hiſtorians in Eloquence, yet in Wiſdom and all other Accompliſhments belonging to a perfect Hiſtorian, he was at leaſt equal to any other Writer *Greek* or *Roman*,

Roman, and perhaps excelled them all. He comes recommended by the Nobility of his Birth, by his Inſtitution in Arts and Sciences, by his Knowledge in natural and moral Philoſophy, and particularly Politics; by being converſant both in the Arts of Peace and War; by his Education under his Father *Lycortas*, who voluntarily depoſed himſelf from his Sovereignty of *Megalopolis* to become a principal Member of the *Achaian* Commonwealth, which then flouriſhed under the Conduct of *Aratus*; by his Friendſhip with *Scipio Africanus*, who ſubdued *Carthage*, to whom he was both a Companion and a Counſellor; and by the Good-will, Eſteem and Intimacy which he had with ſeveral Princes of *Aſia*, *Greece* and *Egypt*, during his Life; and after his Deceaſe, by deſerving the Applauſe and Approbation of all ſucceeding Ages.

We may form a Judgment of the Dignity and Greatneſs of this Writer by the Number of Statues erected to his Honour, by the *Greeks* at *Palantium*, *Mantinæa*, *Tegæa*, *Megalopolis*, and other Cities of *Arcadia*; the Inſcription of one of which teſtifies, ſays *Pauſanias*, that he travelled over all Seas and Lands, was a Friend and Ally to the *Romans*, and reconciled them, being then incenſed againſt the *Grecians*; another Inſcription runs thus, *If* Greece *had at firſt purſued the Counſel of* Polybius, *it had not offended*; *but being now miſerably afflicted, he is her only Comfort and Support*. He is mentioned with great Honour by *Cicero*, *Strabo*, *Joſephus*, and *Plutarch*; and in what Rank of Writers they are placed, none of the Learned need to be informed.

formed. He is copied in whole Books together by *Livy*, commonly eſteemed the Prince of the *Roman* Hiſtory, and tranſlated word for word; though the *Latin* Hiſtorian is not to be excuſed for giving him only the dry Commendation of a Writer not to be deſpiſed, without confeſſing to whom he had been ſo much obliged. *Marcus Brutus*, who preferred the Freedom of his Country to the Obligations which he had to *Julius Cæſar*, ſo highly valued *Polybius*, that he made an Abridgment of his Works, and read him not only for his Inſtruction, but for the Solace of his Grief, when his noble Enterprize for the Reſtoration of the Commonwealth had not found the Succeſs which it deſerved. Nor is this the leaſt Commendation of this Hiſtorian, that he who was not wholly ſatisfied with the Eloquence of *Tully*, ſhould epitomize *Polybius* with his own Hand. It was in Conſideration of *Brutus*, and the Veneration which he paid him, that *Conſtantine* the Great took ſo great a Pleaſure in reading him, and collecting the ſeveral Treaties of his Embaſſies; of which, though many are now loſt, yet thoſe which remain are a ſufficient Teſtimony of his great Abilities. He learned the Language of the *Romans*, and attained to that Knowledge of their Laws, their Rights, their Cuſtoms and Antiquities, that few of their own Citizens underſtood them better; having gained Permiſſion from the Senate to ſearch the Capitol, he made himſelf acquainted with their Records, and afterwards tranſlated them into his native Tongue: So that he taught the Noblemen of *Rome* their own municipal Laws, and was accounted more ſkilful in them than *Fabius Pictor*, a Man

a Man of Senatorian Rank, who wrote the Tranſactions of the *Punic* Wars.

POLYBIUS was without all queſtion a very great Man; he was noble, and of the firſt Rank in his Country, a Soldier, a Stateſman, and a Philoſopher; and poſſeſſed an excellent Underſtanding; poliſhed and cultivated by Buſineſs and eminent Truſts, and tempered and chaſtiſed by his own and his Country's Afflictions. So that it may be ſaid, no Man ever engaged in a Work of this Sort better furniſhed with the requiſite Qualifications, and he ſeems to adorn the Chair, when he treats diſtinctly on any of the above-named Subjects; but when he talks of War, which is the principal Subject of ancient Hiſtory, how like a General and perfect Maſter in the military Trade does he acquit himſelf? How exact and elaborate is he in his Deſcriptions of Battles by Land and Sea, deſcending to every Particular that may afford Light to his Reader? How elegantly, juſtly and uſefully does he inſtruct and reaſon on Events of Councils, Battles, and all kind of Tranſactions? How does *Hannibal*'s Craft and Wiſdom, and *Flaminius*'s Raſhneſs and Folly, appear in his Account of the Battle of *Thraſymene*; inſomuch that from Readers we become Spectators of all theſe Exploits. How faithful is he to the Character of the *Carthaginians*, in their Naval Knowledge and Strength? And with what Frankneſs, Aſſurance and Impartiality, does he ſhew the Ignorance of the *Romans*, and reprove their Raſhneſs, when he compares theſe two People on the Subject of their military Affairs and Tranſactions? All which we read with Pleaſure, and approve

with Delight. So that, in a Word, he will be found throughout to preſerve the Character of an able and impartial Writer. The Subject of his Hiſtory were all the moſt conſiderable Actions in the World, from the Beginning of the ſecond *Punic* War to the End of that which terminated the Differences of the *Romans* with the *Macedonian* Kings, by the utter Ruin of their Monarchy.

LA MOTHE takes occaſion to ſpeak of one *Sebaſtian Maccius*, who treating of Hiſtory, and declaiming againſt Digreſſions, condemns thoſe of *Salluſt* and *Polybius*; indecently calling them abject Perſons, and Men ſprung out of the Dregs of the People; and the more to defame the latter, he particularly adds, that he was a mere Pedant given to *Scipio*, to ſerve him in the quality of a Præceptor; but this Imputation is unlearned and ridiculous, for it is utterly improbable that a Perſon ſo well verſed in Affairs of State, and accuſtomed to great Employments, as *Polybius* was, ſhould be known to *Scipio*, and accompany him in all his military Expeditions, for no other Purpoſe than to inſtruct him in the Parts of Speech, and teach him the Rudiments of Grammar. There might be more Reaſon perhaps to charge him, as ſome have done, with Impiety and Want of Religion in regard to the Deity; for though he ſpeaks in many Places very favourably of the Worſhip of the Gods, as when he attributes all the Glory of *Arcadia*, his Country, to their great Care in ſerving the Altars, and elſewhere profeſſes that he abhors the Licentiouſneſs of War that cauſes the Deſtruction of Temples, which he repreſents as a moſt capital Crime; yet

yet he declares ſo formally in another Place againſt Providence, and all thoſe who in his Time held the Opinion of the Puniſhments of Hell, that it appears evidently he believed nothing of theſe Things. About the End of the ſixth Book he obſerves that Superſtition, which was accounted a Vice by all other Nations, paſſed for a Virtue among the *Romans*. If one could, ſays he, compoſe a Republic only of wiſe and virtuous Men, all theſe fabulous Opinions of Gods and Hell would be altogether ſuperfluous. But ſince there is no State where the People are not (as we ſee them) ſubject to Irregularities and evil Actions; one muſt, to check them, make uſe of theſe imaginary Fears, and the ſervile Terrors of the other World which our Religion holds forth, and which the Ancients have ſo prudently introduced to this End, that they cannot be contradicted now by any but raſh Perſons, or thoſe who are deſtitute of Intelligence. Let ſuch as defend *Polybius* in every Thing (as *Caſaubon* has done) ſay what they pleaſe in his favour, they can never, after ſo formal a Declaration, make him paſs for a Perſon very zealous in the Religion of his Time.

BESIDES the forty Books of his Univerſal Hiſtory, it is credible by one of the Letters which *Cicero* wrote to *Lucceius*, that he compoſed a particular Treatiſe of the War of *Numantia*. His great Age furniſhed him with Convenience to write much; ſince we underſtand from *Lucian*, that he paſſed the grand climacteric, and died not till he was eighty-two Years old. He himſelf confeſſes, that the Informations of *Lælius*, which he often required in their ordinary Conferences, and the Memorials which that great Per-

ſon furniſhed him with, were of ſingular advantage to him.

BUT as to his Manner of writing, the Learned have not agreed to beſtow upon him the Praiſe of Eloquence. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, the moſt ſtrict and auſtere Critic among them, ſtyles him an inelegant Writer, and reproaches him with Negligence both in the Choice of Words and the Structure of his Periods. His Excellency nevertheleſs is ſuch in all other Things, that one would ſuppoſe he neglected the Nicety of Words as of little Importance, to confine himſelf entirely to Things more ſerious and ſignificant. He certainly deſerved the great Eulogies given him by learned Men. *Polybius*, ſays *Bodin*, is not only every where equal and like himſelf, but alſo wiſe and grave, ſparing in his Commendations, ſharp and ſevere in his Reprehenſions, and like a prudent Lawgiver and a good Commander, diſcuſſes many Things concerning the military and civil Diſcipline, and the Duty of an Hiſtorian. *Lipſius* is more ample in his Commendation. *Polybius*, in Judgment and Prudence, is not unlike *Thucydides*; but in his Care and Style more looſe and free; he digreſſes, breaks off, and dilates his Diſcourſe; and in many Places does not ſo much relate as profeſſedly teach; but then his Informations are every where right and ſalutary, and I ſhould therefore the rather recommend him to Princes, becauſe there is no need of an anxious Enquiry into his Thoughts, but he himſelf opens and reveals his Senſe. *Polybius*, ſays *Rapin*, is more grave than *Thucydides*; he does not ſo often introduce *Scipio* ſpeaking, though he had a kind of right to do it; having

having all along attended him in his Wars. He has frequent Digreſſions upon Politics, the Art of War, and the Laws of Hiſtory, which do not ſeem neceſſary. He is a greater Libertine than *Xenophon*, and treats the Opinions the People of thoſe Days had of their Gods and Hell as Fables. But the moſt learned *Caſaubon*, in his Preface to *Polybius*, has moſt clearly and at large demonſtrated the Excellence of this *Greek* Writer, and wherein he is to be preferred before the other Hiſtorians.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* POLYBIUS.

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DIODORUS

DIODORUS SICULUS.

DIODORUS SICULUS was a Native of *Agyrium*, a City in *Sicily*, and flouriſhed in the Time of *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*. He compoſed at *Rome* his excellent Work, entitled *Bibliotheca Hiſtorica*, after having travelled thro' the greateſt Part of *Aſia* and *Europe*, with incredible Hazard and Fatigue, to gain Information and collect Materials. He ſpent thirty Years in compoſing it, and collected it into forty Books, which compriſed the Subſtance of what the moſt renowned Hiſtorians had written before him; inſomuch, that if this Work were ſtill complete, we could not want a competent Knowledge of the firſt and remoteſt Ages.

BUT, to the great Grief of learned Men, of the forty Books only fifteen are now extant. The firſt five are entire, and give us an Account of the fabulous Times, and explain the Antiquities and Tranſactions of the *Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Perſians*, *Lybians*, *Grecians*, and other Nations, before the *Trojan* War. The five next Books are wanting. The eleventh Book begins at *Xerxes*'s Expedition into *Greece*: From whence, to the End of the twentieth Book, which brings the Hiſtory down to the Year of the World three thouſand ſix hundred and fifty, the Work is entire; but the latter

twenty

twenty Books are loſt. *Henry Stephens* aſſerts, from a Letter communicated to him by Mr. *Lazaro Baif*, that all the Works of *Diodorus* are entire, in ſome Corner of *Sicily*. I confeſs, ſays *La Mothe*, upon this Occaſion I would willing go almoſt to the End of the World, if I thought to find ſo great a Treaſure. And I ſhall envy thoſe that will come after us this important Diſcovery, if it ſhall be made when we ſhall be no more; and that inſtead of fifteen Books only, which we now enjoy, they ſhall poſſeſs the whole Forty.

THE Contents of the whole Work are thus exhibited by the Author. The ſix firſt Books, (the laſt of which is loſt) ſays he, comprehend all that happened before the War of *Troy*, together with many fabulous Matters here and there interſperſed. Of theſe, the three former relate the Antiquity of the *Barbarians*; and the three latter contain thoſe of the *Greeks*. The eleven next following, include all that happened remarkable in the World from the Deſtruction of *Troy* to the Death of *Alexander* the Great. Laſtly, the other twenty-three extend to the Conqueſt of *Julius Cæſar* over the *Gauls*, when he made the *Britiſh* Ocean the Northern Bounds of the *Roman* Empire.

THIS Writer has undergone a Variety of Characters from the Learned. *Pliny* aſſerts, that *Diodorus* was the firſt of the *Greeks* who ſpoke ſeriouſly, and avoided Trifles, *Primus apud* Græcos *deſiit nugari* Diodorus. Biſhop *Montague*, in his Preface to his *Apparatus*, gives this *Sicilian* the Reputation of an excellent Author, who, with great Fidelity, immenſe

immenſe Labour, and uncommon Diligence and Ingenuity, has collected an Hiſtorical Library, in which he has repreſented his own and the Studies of other Men, being the great Reporter of human Actions. He is cenſured notwithſtanding by *Bodinus*, who condemns the Style of this Hiſtorian; and *Ludovicus Vives* with great Acrimony arraigns the Body of his Hiſtory, and the Mode of Narration. He blames him particularly for relating ſtrange and incredible Computations of Time, for aſſerting that the *Egyptians* had preſerved their public Records for an hundred thouſand Years; that the *Chaldeans* had made Obſervations of the heavenly Bodies, for the Space of four hundred ſeventy and two thouſand Years before *Alexander*'s Conqueſts in *Aſia*; that the *Egyptians* reckoned ſome ten and others three and twenty thouſand Years from *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, to the ſame *Alexander*; and that their firſt Kings, who were Gods, did each of them reign no leſs than twelve hundred Years.

BUT *La Mothe*, with great Juſtice, vindicates the Credit of this Writer; he ſays, that *Diodorus* inſerted the *Egyptian Ephemerides*, and the aſtronomical Calculations of the *Chaldeans*, only to ſhew what was the common Creed of thoſe People; not inſiſting that he himſelf was of that Opinion. He is ſo far from it, that he ſays expreſly in his ſecond Book, that he cannot poſſibly acquieſce in what the College of *Chaldeans* had determined of the long Space of Time which preceded the Victories of *Alexander*. I am ſo far, ſays the *French* Critic again, from condemning the Fables and excellent Mythology

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in the firſt five Books of *Diodorus*, that, in my Opinion, we have nothing more precious in all that remains of Antiquity; for beſides that Fables may be ſeriouſly told, and that *Plato's Timæus*, with many other Works of great Conſequence, would be uſeleſs upon this Suppoſition, yet theſe are of Utility to give us a Notion of the whole Theology of the Idolaters. If it were lawful to give a holy Name to a profane Thing, I might call the five abovementioned Books the Bible of Paganiſm; ſince they teach us at firſt View what the *Gentiles* believed of Eternity, and of the Creation of the World. So that they give us ſo perfect an Idea of the Theogony of the *Egyptians*, which was afterwards followed by the *Greeks*, ſince without them we ſhould have been Strangers to thoſe uſeful Diſcoveries, and theſe moſt curious Relations would have been totally unknown to us.

THE Time of theſe two Emperors, *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, is allowed to have been the pureſt Age of the *Latin* Tongue, but not ſo of the *Greek*; in their Reigns the *Athenian* Eloquence was already transferred to *Rome*. It is no wonder then, that *Diodorus* is not equal in this reſpect to *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, or *Xenophon*, being a *Sicilian* only, and under the Diſadvantage of writing at ſuch a Seaſon. *Photius* nevertheleſs does not forbear to praiſe his Style, as being very perſpicuous, unaffected, and proper for his Subject, which is Hiſtory. It is, ſays he, neither too *Attic*, nor too full of old Words; his Mode of Writing obſerves a juſt Mediocrity between the ſublime Style, and the other which the School ſtyles humble and creeping, upon Account

Account of its Lowneſs, which is carefully avoided by this Hiſtorian.

DIODORUS is commended by *Juſtin Martyr*, as the moſt renowned and eſteemed of all the *Greek* Hiſtorians, and from his Writings he takes Occaſion to prove the Excellence and Antiquity of *Moſes* the great Lawgiver of the *Hebrews*; and when he would inſinuate that *Homer* had learned in *Egypt* the moſt beautiful Paſſages with which he adorned his Poeſy, he employs the Authority of *Diodorus*, whom he does not name without Praiſe. *Euſebius* goes beyond *Juſtin Martyr*, both in Encomium and Citations of Paſſages drawn from this Hiſtorian, with which he fills all the Books of his Evangelical Preparation. When he treats of the Beginning of the World, of what the Ancients believed of the Sun and Moon, and of the Cuſtom of the *Carthaginians* to ſacrifice Men, and of infinite other Subjects which fall within his principal Deſign, he always alledges *Diodorus*; but he does it chiefly when he examines the Theology of the *Egyptians* in his ſecond Book, where he very much extols his hiſtorical Character; he calls him a moſt illuſtrious Writer, moſt exact in his Narrative, and one in high Eſteem among the Learned for his profound Doctrine; and he adds, that there is no *Grecian* who is not deſirous to read him and allow him the Preference above other Writers in the ſame Language. But when he inſiſts in his tenth Book, that *Greece* had received from the Hands of thoſe ſhe eſteemed barbarous, and particularly from the *Jews*, all the Sciences and Learning for which ſhe had ſo great a Value; it is in

this

this Regard that he attributes to him the greateſt Honour: For after he had cited the Teſtimonies of *Clement*, *Porphyry*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Heraclitus*, *Joſephus*, and other Authors, he finiſhes his Proof with a Quotation out of the firſt Book of this incomparable Hiſtory, *to the end*, ſays he, *that the Authority of* Diodorus *may ſerve as a Seal to all my Demonſtration.*

Beſt EDITIONS *of* DIODORUS SICULUS.

Græcè, Typis nitidiſſ. *Henr. Stephani. Pariſ.* 1559. Fol. 1*l.* 1*s.*

Gr. & Lat. Notis *H. Stephani & Laur. Rhodomanni. Hanoviæ*, 1604. Fol. 1*l.* 1*s.*

Gr. & Lat, Notis & Emendationibus Variorum, curâ *Petri Weſſeling*, 2 vols. *Amſt.* 1743. Fol. 3*l.* 3*s.*

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS.

IF this Writer had not declared in the Beginning of his Hiſtory, that he lived in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, we might have been aſſured of it from *Strabo*; who, ſpeaking of the City of *Halicarnaſſus*, obſerves that it gave the World two illuſtrious Perſons, *Herodotus*, and in our Time, ſays he, *Dionyſius* the Hiſtorian.

AMONG many Writers who bore the Name of *Dionyſius*, *Suidas* makes mention of another beſides the Perſon we are now conſidering, who was of *Halicarnaſſus* alſo, and of his Poſterity. He flouriſhed under the Emperor *Adrian*, and had the Sirname of *Muſicus*; becauſe, though he was an Orator, his principal Talent lay in Muſic; of which he compoſed many Books. As for our Hiſtorian, he came to *Rome* a ſhort Time after *Auguſtus* had happily concluded the Civil Wars, and continued there two and twenty Years: He employed his Time in learning the *Latin* Tongue, and collecting Materials for the Deſign he had planned for writing his Hiſtory. For this Purpoſe he conſulted all Books, all the Commentaries and Annals that had been written by *Romans* of Learning and Credit, about the Affairs of State, Old *Cato*, *Fabius Maximus*, *Valerius*

Valerius Antias, *Licinius Macer*, and ſome others. He acknowledges that the Converſation he had with the learned Men of that Imperial City, and his frequent Conferences with the greateſt Geniuſes of the Age, were of no leſs Service to him than all his own Diligence and Application.

HIS Hiſtory treats of the *Roman* Antiquities, which he compriſed in twenty Books, of which there remain no more than the firſt Eleven, which conclude with the Time when the Conſuls reſumed the chief Authority in the Republic, after the Government of the *Decemviri*, which happened three hundred and twelve Years after the Foundation of *Rome*. The whole Work comprehended much more; for it paſſed from the taking of *Troy* over the fabulous and hiſtorical Time, to the Beginning of the firſt *Punic* War; ending where *Polybius* begins his Hiſtory. In order to deliver a minute Account of the *Roman* People, he has begun his Work with the *Aborigines*, the firſt Inhabitants of *Italy*. His Authority is vindicated by *Scaliger*, who aſſerts, that we have no Author remaining who has obſerved ſuch exact Order in Chronology; and though he may be cenſured for relating too credulouſly ſome improbable Stories, yet upon the Whole he is eſteemed as an exact and diligent Writer, and who had more Probity and Sincerity than *Livy*. He is cenſured as a very prolix Orator, his Hiſtory and Antiquities have an univerſal Applauſe, and the Loſs of what is wanting is exceedingly lamented.

THE Style of this Writer (as *Photius* conſiders it) is new and uncommon, but attended with a Simplicity which renders it delightful; and he

adds, that the Elegance of his Periods corrects and ſoftens the Aſperity that is ſometimes found in his Expreſſion. He commends him exceedingly for uſing many Digreſſions, which detain and recreate the Mind of the Reader, when the even Tenor of an hiſtorical Narration begins to be wearifome and tedious. The Excellencies of this Writer are more particularly diſtinguiſhed by *Bodinus*; *Dionyſius*, ſays he, beſides the Eſteem he merits from his familiar Style and pure *Attic Greek*, has alſo written the *Roman* Antiquities from the Foundation of the City, with ſo great a Diligence, that he ſeems to excel all other *Greek* and *Latin* Authors; for what the *Latins* neglected as common and well known, their Sacrifices, Plays, Triumphs, Enſigns of Magiſtrates and all the Order of the *Roman* public Government, their Taxes or Revenues, their *Auſpicia* or Divinations, their great Aſſemblies and their difficult Diviſion of the People into Tribes and Claſſes; laſtly, the Authority of the Senate, the Commands of the *Plebes* or lower Orders, the Authority of the Magiſtrates and the Power of the People he only ſeems to have accurately delivered; and for the better underſtanding of theſe, he compares them with the *Greek* Laws and Rites, as when he inveſtigates the Laws of Retainers, Vaſſalage or Protection, which *Romulus* inſtituted, and derives them from the Cuſtoms of the *Athenians* and *Theſſalians*. The Laws, ſays he, of *Romulus*, of *Numa*, and *Servius*, had, together with the Origin of the People of *Rome*, periſhed totally, if this Author had not preſerved them. It is a great Glory to him to have exceeded all the *Roman* Writers in

Things

Things wherein they ought to have had ſo great Advantage over him.

CERTAINLY, ſays *La Mothe*, it is not to be imagined, that a Man of that Reputation, which *Dionyſius* had acquired in Learning, could produce any Thing that was not very elaborate and worthy of his Name. We have his *Compoſitions of Rhetoric*, and the ableſt Critics place him in the firſt Rank of thoſe who delighted in this Species of Study; and though there were no more related of him than the Requeſt that was made him by *Pompey* the Great, to give him his Judgment on the firſt *Greek* Hiſtorians, and eſpecially on *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*; it ſhews ſufficiently the Eſteem in which he lived in his Time, and of what Authority he was in *Rome*, when that great General ſelected him out of many others to give him Information upon this Subject. His Characters of ancient Writers who lived before him, are too exact and rigorous, and his Laws of Eloquence too ſevere; for according to the Strictneſs of his Maxims, there never was a perfect Hiſtorian. Among many Inſtances of his Spleen in Criticiſm he took upon him to blame the Style of *Plato*. This among other Things occaſioned a Letter which *Pompey* writ to him in *Plato*'s Defence; and we ſee by the Anſwer of *Dionyſius*, that although to pacify *Pompey*, he profeſſes himſelf an Admirer of *Plato*, yet he ſtill perſiſts to give the Preference to *Demoſthenes*.

BUT his Confidence and Credulity in relating Stories wholly improbable deſerve to be condemned. What can be thought of his relating that a Razor cut a Whetſtone, by the Command

of *Nævius Actius* the Augur? His repreſenting *Caſtor* and *Pollux* fighting for the *Romans* againſt the *Latins?* The Rivers *Vulturnus* and *Glanis* running back to their Source, in Favour of the Inhabitants of *Cumæ?* He ſays, that a Statue of the Goddeſs *Fortune* pronounced theſe Words twice, *Rite me, Matronæ, didicaſtis.* But there is ſcarce a more ſtrange Relation in the *Roman* Hiſtory, than the Action of *Clælia*, as he repreſents it. He ſays that this *Roman* Virgin, who was given in Hoſtage with many others to *Porſenna*, King of the *Tuſcans*, returned with all her Companions from the *Tuſcan* Camp to the City of *Rome*, ſwimming over the River *Tiber*, in which they had leave to bathe; as if it were poſſible that fearful Maidens, who, it may be ſuppoſed had not learned to ſwim, dared look upon ſuch a River with a Deſign to paſs it, and caſt themſelves deſperately into it, when the Peace was almoſt concluded. For though *Plutarch* deſcribes the Place in the Life of *Publicola*, that was very agreeable and convenient to bathe in, yet he confeſſes that the River was very rapid and deep; *Livy* writes with no more Probability when he tells the ſame Story. *Plutarch* does indeed in ſome Meaſure queſtion the Truth of it. The Account of *Valerius Maximus* is more agreeable, that this young Lady under the Favour of a dark Night eſcaped from the Enemies Camp, mounted on a Horſe, which carried her among her Friends on the other Side. The Equeſtrian Statue, erected to her Honour by the *Romans*, ſupports this Opinion; but when Writers will ſacrifice what is plain and probable to ſomething marvellous

marvellous and extraordinary, we cannot be ſurpriſed at ſuch Relations.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* DION. HALICAR.

Græcè, nitidiſs. Typis. apud *Rob. Stephanum, Lutetiæ.* 1546. Fol. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Gr. & Lat. Notis *Frid. Sylburgii. Francof.* 1586. Fol. 1*l.* 1*s.*

Gr. & Lat. Notis Var. & *Joh. Hudſoni.* 2 vols. *Oxon.* 1704. Fol. 5*l.* 5*s.*

ARRIAN.

UNDER the Emperor *Adrian* flouriſhed *Arrian* of *Nicomedia*, a City of *Bithynia*, the celebrated Scholar of *Epictetus*. *Dion* calls him *Flavius Arrianus Nicomedienſis*. He was a Philoſopher and Hiſtorian; and, if ſome may be credited, an eminent Civilian. *Suidas* acquaints us from *Heliconius*, that he attained even the Conſular Dignity, and that for the Sweetneſs of his Style, he was termed another *Xenophon*. *Photius* agrees with him, and adds, that he was the Prieſt of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*. *Lucian* in his *Pſeudomantes* aſſures us, that *Arrian* the Scholar of *Epictetus*, a Man of the firſt Rank in *Rome*, employed his whole Life in the Study of polite Literature, for which he was ſo particularly famous, ſays *Dion*, that he was complimented with the Freedom both of *Rome* and *Athens*. *Dion* informs us, that he was advanced to the Præfecture of *Cappadocia*, and that he reduced the *Alauni* and *Maſſagetæ*. *Pliny* the Younger, who was then Proconſul of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, addreſſed ſeven of his Epiſtles to him, and this is the more probable, becauſe *Arrian* was not only a *Bithynian*, but wrote the *Bithynian* and *Alaunian* Hiſtory, an Abridgment of the firſt of which may be ſeen in *Photius*, and a Fragment of the laſt in the ſecond Volume of *Blancard*'s Edition of his Works.

He likewiſe wrote the *Parthian* Hiſtory in ſeventeen Books, an Extract of which *Photius* has preſerved. We have four Books of his Diſſertations of *Epictetus*; as alſo a Paraplus, or Survey of the Coaſts of the *Euxine* and Red Seas, inſcribed to the Emperor *Adrian*, if that Inſcription be genuine; for *Salmaſius* imagines theſe to have been the Works of another of the ſame Name, who flouriſhed from the Time of *Nero* to *Veſpaſian*. He wrote the Life of *Dion* the *Syracuſian*; an Account of *Timoleon*'s Acts in *Sicily*; a Book of Tacticks, and a Treatiſe on Hunting, as a Supplement to *Xenophon*'s Work upon the ſame Subject. His *Indian* Hiſtory we have compleat, notwithſtanding the Aſſertion of the learned *Stuchius* to the contrary.

BOILEAU, in the Life of *Epictetus*, gives *Arrian* this extraordinary Character: Of all the Scholars of *Epictetus*, ſays he, *Arrian* is the only one whoſe Name has been tranſmitted with Reputation to Poſterity; but he is ſuch a one as ſufficiently demonſtrates the Excellence of his Maſter, though we ſhould ſuppoſe that he was the only Scholar he had formed. For this is the very Perſon who was afterwards advanced to be Præceptor to *Antoninus*, ſurnamed the *Pious*, becauſe, like that Philoſopher, he committed to writing the Dictates delivered by his Maſter in his Life-time, and publiſhed them in one Volume, under the Name of *Epictetus*'s Diſcourſes, or Diſſertations, which at preſent we have in four Books. After this he compoſed a little Treatiſe called his *Enchiridion*, which is a ſhort Compendium of the Philoſophical Principles of *Epictetus*, and hath ever been acknowledged as

one of the moſt valuable and beautiful Pieces of ancient Morality. He likewiſe wrote a large Book of the Life and Death of *Epictetus*, which is now unfortunately loſt. He informs us, that *Epictetus* left nothing of his own Compoſition. If *Arrian* had not tranſmitted to Mankind the Maxims of his Maſter, we have ſome Reaſon to doubt whether the very Name of *Epictetus* had not been loſt to the World. It is not eaſy to know, whether his *Hiſtory* was written before his *Enchiridion*, and thoſe other Diſcourſes of *Epictetus*, which *Simplicius* in his Commentaries aſſures us were compoſed by him; for tho' it might not be thought, according to the ordinary and natural Courſe of Study, he ſhould apply himſelf to Philoſophical Contemplations in the youthful Part of his Life, yet it appears by the Preface to thoſe Diſcourſes, that he writ them as they were ſpoken by his Maſter, collected from his Mouth whilſt he was yet the Scholar of that great Philoſopher; and he informs us that they were publiſhed without his Concurrence, which is a certain Evidence of their being written in his younger Age. *Photius* ſays, they were formerly in twelve Books, beſides certain Philoſophical Diſſertations mentioned by him which are loſt.

As for his Hiſtorical Compoſitions, tho' we have them not all intire, from what remains of them we may diſcern enough to induce us to value his Merit; and his ſeven Books of the Conqueſt of *Alexander* the Great, and eight which treat particularly of *India*, ſuffice to give him a Rank and Name among the principal Hiſtorians. Beſides theſe, he wrote in ten Books the

the History of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors, for they could not agree about dividing their Conqueſts; but of theſe there remains nothing but an Abridgment which *Photius* gives us in his *Bibliotheca*.

THIS Author informs us, that he wrote the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great by Divine Direction, and that he did it under the Title of Ἀναβάσεως Ἀλεξάνδρου, and in the ſame Number of Books that *Xenophon* choſe to deſcribe the Conqueſts of *Cyrus*; and ſome obſerve, that he ſo affected that Author, that he has perfectly imitated his Style, and in many other Reſpects; and therefore he is diſtinguiſhed by the Name of the *Young Xenophon*. He declares in his Preface, that the Relation of the Facts he has delivered, is founded upon the Faith of *Ariſtobulus* and *Ptolemæus Lagus*, who accompanied *Alexander* in all his Enterprizes, and his Accounts are the more credible, ſince, beſides the Royal Quality of the latter, they did neither of them publiſh their Writings till after *Alexander*'s Death, without any other Obligation, than a real Deſire of diſcovering the Truth of his Actions. Yet our Author profeſſes in his Account of the Death of *Calliſthenes* the Philoſopher, that it was very differently reported by them, though they were both near the Perſon of *Alexander*, when the Proceſs was made againſt that unfortunate Perſon. *Ariſtobulus* ſays, he was led in Chains after the Army, till he died of Sickneſs; the other affirms, that, after having been expoſed to Torture, he was ſtrangled for being unhappily involved in the Conſpiracy of *Hermolaus*; ſo difficult it is to come at the Truth, and there is nothing more certain, than that one and

the ſame Fact is many Times variouſly related by thoſe who ſaw it, on account of the various Reſpects and Intereſts in which the Relators are ſeverally engaged.

PHOTIUS commends *Arrian* as equal to the beſt Hiſtorians; his Narration is always agreeable, becauſe it is both conciſe and intelligible, and he never fatigues his Readers with tedious Digreſſions, and ſuch Parentheſes as obſcure the Senſe. One cannot eaſily find in all his Hiſtory, any ſuch miraculous Event, as might render it ſuſpected, if you except ſome Predictions of *Ariſtander*, and the Story of two *New Springs*, which appeared near the River of *Oxus*, as ſoon as *Alexander* encamped there.

THE Model which *Arrian* propoſed to imitate, permits him not to elevate his Style to a ſublime Degree of Oratory, becauſe the Eloquence of *Xenophon* is not of that Order; but his Phraſe is intermingled with ſuch excellent Figures, that by retaining all the Perſpicuity of him whom he imitates, his Style has nothing in it either too abjectly low, or too highly towering. He occaſionally uſes ſometimes oblique, ſometimes direct Orations. The Oration of *Calliſthenes* againſt *Anaxarchus*, who would have *Alexander* to be adored, is one of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe that are direct; and there are two others not inferior to it of the ſame Prince to his Soldiers, who began to mutiny, once in *India*, and the other Time upon the Banks of the *Tigris*. Thoſe which were made before the Battle at the Straits of *Amanus*, and at the Plain of *Arbela*, or *Gaugamela*, are oblique, and much more conciſe than the Occaſion required. *Photius* delivers a very

a very favourable Judgment of the Hiſtory of *Arrian*, and ſays, that whoſoever ſhall compare it with the moſt ancient of thoſe whch are ſo much eſteemed, will find there are many Things in them which by no Means come up to the Value of the other. He was a Writer of ſuch Integrity, that by way of Eminence and Diſtinction, he was called *The Lover of Truth.*

Beſt EDITIONS *of* ARRIAN.

De Expeditione *Alexandri Magni*, Lib. 7. Ejuſdem Indica. Gr. Lat. Notis *Nic. Blancardi. Amſt.* 1668. 8vo. 5*s.*

Tactica, Periplus Maris Euxini & Comment. in *Epictetum.* Gr. Lat. Notis *Nic. Blancardi. Amſt.* 1683. 8vo. 3*s.*

De Expedit. *Alexandri M.* Lib. 7. & Indica. Gr. Lat. Notis Var. & *Jac. Gronovii. L. Bat.* 1704. Fol. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Diſſertationes in *Epictetum.* Gr. Lat. Notis & Emendat. *Joh. Upton*, 2 vols. *Lond.* 1741. 4to. 1*l.* 1*s.*

APPIANUS.

THIS Hiſtorian is the more conſiderable among thoſe who have laboured in the *Roman* Hiſtory, in that, beſides the Commendation which *Photius* gives him, to have with as much Truth as poſſible delivered Facts, he alone has particularly deſcribed the Actions, according to the Provinces where the Scene of them lay, and the different Regions in which they were tranſacted. This Method is certainly very uſeful and regular, to expreſs diſtinctly the ſeveral Exploits, and ſeparately from each other, and at one View preſent what paſſes in every Country; no Mode of Writing can be more inſtructive than this, and apter in that Reſpect to pleaſe and ſatisfy the Mind of the Reader; ſo that the Hiſtory of *Appian*, as *Suidas* relates, was often by Diſtinction called the *Baſilic* or *Royal* Hiſtory.

HE deſcended from one of the chief Families of *Alexandria*, and came to *Rome* in *Trajan*'s Time; he there practiſed the Law for ſome Time, and pleaded with ſuch Force and Eloquence, that he was ſoon advanced to be one of the *Procuratores Cæſaris*, and was afterwards promoted to greater Dignities in the Empire under *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius*. He was preferred, as *Photius* relates, to the Adminiſtration of a Province;

a Province; *Sigonius* and ſome others call him *Sophiſta Alexandrinus*, and declare him an *Egyptian.*

THE Hiſtory of *Appian* was divided into three Volumes, which, as *Photius* obſerves, contained four and twenty Books. It began at the Deſtruction of *Troy*, and the Fortune of *Æneas*, and extended beyond the Reign of *Auguſtus*, making Excurſions ſometimes even to the Time of *Trajan.* As to his Style, *Photius* obſerves, that as his Manner of Writing was plain and eaſy, ſo he had nothing in it that was extravagant or ſuperfluous, and he gives him the Privilege of being not only very faithful, but one of thoſe who has given the greateſt Teſtimony of his Knowledge in the Art of War, and every Species of military Diſcipline. To read the Deſcription of his Battles, would make one fancy himſelf in the midſt of them; and he is ſo happy in his Orations, that he governs and moves the Affections which Way he pleaſes, whether it be to revive the Courage of the drooping Soldiers, or repreſs the extravagant Tranſports of thoſe who were too violent. Of the many Works which he compoſed, there remains to this Time the very leaſt Part, which deſcribe the *Punic*, *Syrian*, and *Parthian* Wars; thoſe againſt *Mithridates*, againſt the *Spaniards*, againſt *Hannibal*, and five Books of the Civil Wars of *Rome*, and of *Illyricum.* As for that of the *Celtic* War, or the War of the *Gauls*, there is only a Fragment or Compendium of it extant, rather to make us regret what we want, than gratify us as to what remains. The Account he delivers of the Civil Wars is exceedingly praiſed by *Photius*;

it is written, he ſays, with great Accuracy, Elegance and Perſpicuity; it begins with the Sedition of the *Gracchi* about the *Agrarian* Law, and deduces it through all the Tumults and Confuſions of the *Romans*, to the Death of *Pompey* the younger, which was but five Years before the Battle of *Actium*, and the Eſtabliſhment of *Auguſtus* in the Empire; a Story that is not written at large and intirely by any other but this Author and *Dion Caſſius*, and is one of the beſt Supplements that is extant of the laſt Books of *Livy*, and one of the beſt Introductions to the Hiſtory of the *Cæſars*; and laſtly, it is one of the moſt lively Repreſentations that is to be found in any Hiſtory of the Diſorders of Commonwealths, and the Miſeries that attend great Changes in Governments.

BUT notwithſtanding this favourable Character of *Photius* in behalf of *Appian*, *Bodin* pours Contumely upon his Memory, and his Judgment in Hiſtorical Narrative; for this bold Cenſurer denies that it was the *Roman* Practice to lend their Wives to one another, after the Cuſtom of the *Parthians* and *Lacedæmonians*, and imputes too much Credulity to our Hiſtorian on this Account; tho' *Plutarch* relates the ſame Thing, and ſays, that *Cato* freely lent his Wife to *Hortenſius* the Orator; nor is the Law of *Romulus*, or that againſt Adulterers mentioned by *Agellius* (as *Bodin* unadviſedly imagines) repugnant to this Practice. He blames him likewiſe for making *Cæſar* deliver, in his ſecond Book of the Civil Wars, certain Expreſſions that were not ſpoken by him, but by *Pompey*, in a threatning Speech which he addreſſed to the Senate, when he laid

his

his Hand upon his Sword, and told them, that if they would not grant him what he desired, *that* should procure it. This ought in Candour to be ascribed to a Failure of Memory, to which all Mankind is subject. He condemns him likewise for another Error in mistaking *Calphurnia* for *Pompeia*, that Wife of *Cæsar*, who was vitiated at the Ceremonies of the *Bona Dea*. *Sigonius* is more indecent, he arraigns him of Levity, and many Omissions, without producing any Instance to support the Charge. *Scaliger* is very bold in his Censure of him, in his Animadversions on the History of *Eusebius*, where he says he would be a Child in the Business of History, were it not that an Infinity of Facts comprized in his History of the Wars of *Syria*. These Reflections are carried too high, yet his Partiality is a Fault that runs through all his Works; he flatters the *Romans*, always placing the Right as well as the Advantage on their Side, to the Prejudice of all other Nations with whom they were concerned. We may add to this, that he often attributes to himself the Labours of others, transcribing many Paragraphs and entire Sentences from *Polybius*, and other Authors more ancient, inserting them in his Works without citing their Texts, or making any Acknowledgment due to their Merit upon such Occasions. He is likewise charged for transcribing the greatest Part of the Commentaries of *Augustus*, which contained (as *Suetonius* relates) the most memorable Actions of his Life. This is indeed a Sort of Theft not to be allowed; *Deprehendi in furto malle, quam mutuum reddere*; says *Pliny* to *Vespasian*, on the same Subject; and *Scaliger* on this

Occaſion calls him *alienorum laborum Fucum*, alluding to Drones, which nouriſh themſelves by the Labour and the Honey of others.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Severity of *Scaliger* upon the Character of *Appian*, he has enjoyed his Admirers, who have repreſented him in a more favourable Light; *Cælius Secundus Curio*, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory before the *Latin* Tranſlation, writes thus of him: It is certain, ſays he, that *Appian* propoſed to himſelf the Method and Style of *Thucydides* and *Saluſt*, and endeavoured to imitate them both in their Sincerity of Expreſſion, and Quickneſs of Tranſition; for he did not artfully frame a perpetual Series of Hiſtory, as *Livy* and others; but from the whole Subject, that is, from the greateſt, and the moſt immortal Actions of the *Romans*, he ſeparated the Wars they made upon any Nation or People, and formed ſo many Bodies of Hiſtory as the Wars were they undertook; which Reaſon and Image of Writing, *Cæſar* purſued in his ſo much celebrated Commentaries, in which nothing is found inane, fabulous or incredible; no ſuperfluous or feigned Speeches, or Orations for Oſtentation, but all pure, true, and neceſſary; in which he did not imitate the Vanity of the *Greeks*, which to do is not indeed to write an Hiſtory, but to amuſe the World with Fables. *Rapin* confeſſes that he was a Copier of all the *Greeks* who treated the ſame Subject, which occaſions his Style to be as various as the Books from which he borrowed; yet after all, his Works are not to be deſpiſed, for they contain Affairs of Importance and Learning.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* APPIANUS.

Græcè, Typis nitidiſſimis, apud *Carolum Stephanum*, Fol. *Genev.* 1551. 10*s.* 6*d.*
Gr. & Lat. Notis *Hen. Stephani*, apud ipſum *Steph.* 1592. Fol. 10*s.* 6*d.*
Gr. & Lat. Notis *H. Steph.* & *Alex. Tollii*, 2 vols. *Amſt.* 1670. 8vo. 12*s.*

DION CASSIUS.

DION CASSIUS, who is beſides known by the Sirnames of *Cocceius* and *Cocceianus*, was born at *Nicea*, a City of *Bithynia*, whither he retired in his latter Years to ſpend in Peace the remaining Part of his Life, after the Example of thoſe Animals, who always return, as they ſay, to die in their native Manſions. A Diſorder in his Legs called him to this Receſs, and he writes that his Genius had foretold it him long before, by a Verſe of *Homer*'s Iliad, recited by *Photius*. As *Socrates* was ſaid to have had a familiar Spirit, or Dæmon, who was a Director of his Life, *Dion* alledges he was warned by his to avoid, by withdrawing himſelf, the Ambuſhes which the *Prætorian* Cohorts prepared for him; and the ſame Spirit or Goddeſs, to uſe his own Words, made him write his Hiſtory, who before exerciſed himſelf only in Philoſophical Learning, as that of divine Dreams and their Interpretation, and he compoſed a Treatiſe upon that Subject.

HIS Father *Apronianus*, a Conſular Man, according to the Phraſe of that Age, was Governor of *Dalmatia*, and ſome Time afterwards Proconſul of *Cilicia*. He himſelf had the ſame Conſular Dignity beſtowed upon him twice, which he exerciſed jointly with the Emperor *Alexander*,

Alexander, Son of *Mammea*, after he had paſſed through divers Employments under the preceding Emperors; for *Macrinus* had eſtabliſhed him Lieutenant or Governor of *Pergamus* and *Smyrna*, and he ſome Time commanded in *Africa*, and had afterwards the Adminiſtration of *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, then called *Pannonia*, committed to him. Theſe Circumſtances are proper to be known before we ſpeak of his Writings, becauſe they derive upon them a greater Authority.

His Hiſtory compriſed all the Time from the Building of *Rome* to the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, which he wrote in eighty Books, divided into eight Decads, of which few are ſaved from that unhappy Loſs that has involved many admirable Works of this Nature, by the Ignorance and Incurſions of barbarous Nations. At preſent the five and thirtieth Book is the firſt of thoſe that remain entire; for we have but ſome Fragments of the four and thirtieth preceding. His Progreſs to the ſixtieth is complete enough; but inſtead of the laſt twenty, we muſt be content with what *Xiphilin*, a Monk of *Conſtantinople*, has given us in a Compendium of them. *Photius* obſerves that he wrote his *Roman* Hiſtory, as ſome others had likewiſe done, not from the Foundation of *Rome* only, but even from the Landing of *Æneas* in *Italy*, which he continued to the Tyranny of *Heliogabalus*, and ſome Part of the Reign of *Alexander Severus* his Succeſſor. What we have of it now in our Poſſeſſion, comprehending the Events of three hundred Years at leaſt, begins but at the Time when *Lucullus* had his great Commands, and finiſhes with the Death

Death of *Claudius* the Emperor, the reſt is the Epitome of *Xiphilin* before mentioned.

THOUGH all that has been loſt of this excellent Author is much to be regretted, I think nothing is ſo deplorable as the Loſs of the forty laſt Years, which he wrote as an Eye-witneſs, and one who had a Part in the Government of the ſtate. For he could give no Account of what paſſed before the Empire of *Commodus*, but from the Relation of Strangers. But after that Emperor to the other, with whom he had the Honour to be Collegue in the Conſulſhip, he built his Relations no more upon the Faith of others but delivered his own Obſervations, which are now come to us only thro' *Xiphilin*, his Abbreviator. It is a clear Evidence of the prudent Conduct of *Dion*, that he could paſs ſteadily through ſuch dangerous Times as thoſe under the Cruelty and Tyrannies of *Commodus*, *Caracalla*, *Macrinus*, and *Heliogabalus*, (or, as it ought to be written, *Elagabalus*) without the Loſs of his Life, his Fortune, or Reputation, which incurred great Hazards under ſuch arbitrary and bloody Princes, and are in the utmoſt Danger, without the greateſt Dexterity of Wit and Conduct. He was ſo commendable, and behaved with that Equanimity, that after having overcome theſe ſtormy and tempeſtuous Seaſons, wherein the Quality of a Stranger and his Riches expoſed him to much Envy, he arrived happily in Port, and became ſafe under the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, a ſingular Lover of Juſtice, and a moſt powerful Patron of virtuous Men.

UNDER

UNDER him he publiſhed the *Roman* Hiſtory, to which he was directed by his Genius, as we obſerved before, and at the ſame Time obeyed the Command of *Septimius Severus*, by whoſe Orders he applied himſelf to that Undertaking. He confeſſes himſelf that he employed ten Years in providing the neceſſary Materials for this great Edifice, and twelve more in raiſing it, and adding that Majeſty to it, which makes us even at this Day admire its diſmembered Fragments, and broken Ruins. A Man of his Quality, who had paſſed his whole Life in the Management of public Affairs, who had throughly read Men as well as Books, and of ſuch an experienced Conduct, could not but be a moſt correct Hiſtorian. Nor has any of the *Roman* Writers diſcovered ſo much as he of thoſe State Secrets, which *Tacitus* ſtyles, *Arcana Imperii*, and of which he makes ſo high a Myſtery. He is ſo exact in deſcribing the Order of the *Comitia*, the eſtabliſhing of Magiſtrates, and the Uſe of the public Rites of the *Romans*, that there is no Account of them which is ſo minute and particular in any other Author. And in what relates to the Conſecration of the Emperors, the *Apotheoſis*, or Enrollment among the Number of the Gods, we may ſay he is the only Writer who has given us an exact Formulary, except *Herodian*, who affected afterwards to imitate him upon the ſame Subject. But particularly in the fifty-ſixth Book, he is very exact where he repreſents the Pomp of *Auguſtus* his Funeral, his Bed of State, his Effigies of Wax, and the funeral Oration which *Tiberius* read before the People; then deſcribes the Rites that related to the Burning

ing his Body; how *Livia* gathered and depoſited his Bones, and finally with what Dexterity they made an Eagle fly from the funeral Pile, whence that Bird of *Jupiter* ſeemed to bear the Soul of the Emperor to Heaven.

THE Funeral Oration before mentioned introduces a Remark that *Dion* uſed not only the oblique, but the direct Way of Oration alſo in the Body of his Hiſtory. Thoſe of *Pompey* to the *Romans*, and of *Gabinius* afterwards in his thirty-ſixth Book, are of the laſt Species. The Philoſophical Diſcourſe of *Philiſtus* to *Cicero*, found in the eight and thirtieth, which perſuades him to bear his Exile in *Macedonia* with Conſtancy, is alſo in the Form of a *Proſopopœia*, after a very conſiderable Dialogue between them two. The Orations of *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, the firſt of whom exhorted *Auguſtus* to quit the Empire, the ſecond on the contrary to retain it, are of the ſame Sort, and compriſe the whole fifty-ſecond Book. By this it appears, that they who believe all Sorts of Orations to be incongruous in Hiſtory, will not be pleaſed with *Dion*'s Method of Writing, for he abſtains not from thoſe which are moſt to be avoided, namely, the *Direct*, and has made uſe of Dialogues alſo, which is contrary to the Rules of the Critics in Hiſtory.

BUT if we muſt take Notice of his Faults, there are others which deſerve Reprehenſion more than what we mentioned: He is accuſed of having taken *Cæſar*'s Part too much againſt *Pompey*, and of having accommodated himſelf to the Smiles of Fortune. Nor ſeems he more equitable in reſpect of *Antony*'s Faction, which he

he always favours to the Prejudice of that of *Cicero*. Whoever alſo reads in the forty-ſixth Book the Invective of *Q. Fufius Calenus* againſt this incomparable Orator, will be hardly able to endure all the Injuries with which it ſeems *Dion* would have ſullied his Reputation. Not content to make him reproached for being the Son of a Fuller or Dyer, and very often reduced to dreſs Vines or cultivate Olive-Trees, he aſſaults his Perſon, and touches his Honour in the moſt ſenſible Part; he repreſents him as ridiculous for his Fearfulneſs, and to blaſt him the more, affirms, that of all the Orations which were ſeen of his, he delivered not one of them after the Manner in which they were written, and therefore his Want of Memory is imputed as a Crime to him. But he makes *Calenus* much more ſevere, he would have him throw off the long Robe, if it had not been uſeful to him to hide his crooked Legs, and deformed Feet; and arraigns his conjugal Bed, to expoſe the Vices of his Wives, charges him with proſtituting the Honour of one of them; and in the Mention of his Children, he accuſes him of Inceſt with his Daughter, and repreſents his Son as an infamous Libertine, perpetually drunk. Certainly, to treat one of the greateſt Perſons in the *Roman* Republic in this ſcandalous Manner, is rather like a Satyriſt than an Hiſtorian. But *Dion* purſues his Blow, and ſo violently preſſes upon the Character of this wonderful Orator, that in the following Book he takes a new Occaſion to make *Fulvia*, the Wife of *Antonius*, diſcharge Abundance of Reproaches againſt his Memory, and pierce his Tongue through with her Bodkin.

DION

DION has not diſcovered more Reſpect to the Reputation of *Seneca*, unleſs thoſe Reflections are juſtly charged upon *Xiphilin*, who, as ſome ſuppoſe, maliciouſly delivers the Thoughts of *Suillius*, or ſome other as bad, for thoſe of *Dion*; tho' other Writers have accuſed *Seneca* of leading a Life quite contrary to the moral Diſcipline he profeſſed, and the philoſophical Character to which he aſpired. In this Hiſtory he is branded with the Guilt of Adultery with *Julia* and *Agrippina*, and charged with the Death of the laſt. He is taxed with reading Lectures of Pederaſty to *Nero*, and aſcending the Theatre with him, in order to deliver Orations to his Applauſe. In ſhort, his Luxury and Avarice are aggravated to that Degree, that the Cauſe of the Rebellion in *Britain* is imputed to him; where the People could no more endure his Extortion, than *Nero* ſuffer his Conſpiracies, from which he had no other Means to deliver himſelf than by putting ſo cruel a Maſter to a violent Death. But theſe Invectives ſeem to proceed rather from the Malice of the Abbreviator than the Hiſtorian; becauſe *Dion*, in his fifty-ninth Book, declares himſelf in Favour of *Seneca*, and very much to his Reputation.

THIS Writer has been ſeverely cenſured for Superſtition and Credulity, and in this Regard ſome Diſcredit has fallen upon his Hiſtory. But ſurely ſome Allowance ought to be made to the Weakneſs of Humanity, for the beſt Authors have been blamed for the ſame Blemiſhes and Imperfections. In his forty-ſeventh Book he tells us, the Sun appeared at *Rome* ſometimes leſſer and ſometimes greater than ordinary, in order

order to preſignify the bloody Battle fought in the Fields of *Philippi*; which was alſo portended by many other Prodigies. He gave Credit to the ſtrange Qualities of the *Pſylli*, who pretended to a Power of expelling Poiſon out of the dead Body of *Cleopatra*; whom theſe Men, for there was no Female among them, ſince they begat themſelves, endeavoured in vain to bring to Life again. Theſe *Pſylli* are mentioned to have been employed by *Auguſtus Cæſar* to cure *Cleopatra* after ſhe had been bitten by the Aſp, by ſucking out the Venom of her Wounds, that ſhe might adorn his Triumph at *Rome*. In his fifty-eighth Book he relates, that a Phœnix was ſeen in *Egypt* in the ſeven hundred and nineteenth Year after the Foundation of *Rome*. In another Place he writes, that *Veſpaſian* cured a blind Man, by anointing his Eyes with his Spittle; and worked a like Miracle upon a lame Man's Hand, which he reſtored to its Vigour and former Uſe, by ſetting his Foot upon it; theſe Men being forewarned in a Dream that they ſhould receive this Benefit from the Emperor. In another Place he ſays, that *Apollonius Tyanæus* ſaw in the City of *Epheſus* all that paſſed at the Death of *Domitian* in *Rome*, at the ſame Inſtant when the Tyrant was under the Murderer's Hand; ſo that he cried out, uttering the Name of *Stephanus*, which was that of the Villain, bidding him *ſtrike boldly*; and immediately, ſays he, the Act was done. As if *Dion* would have conformed himſelf to *Philoſtratus*, who wrote at the ſame Time the Life of this Impoſtor, and there was no Difference to be allowed between true and fabulous Hiſtory.

HE does not eſcape Cenſure from ſome, particularly from *Baronius*, who finds fault with him for not expreſſing himſelf with more Favour towards Chriſtianity. This Charge ſcarce deſerves a Reply, ſince he is to be eſteemed a *Pagan* Author, whom it was not likely ſhould recommend a Religion contrary to what he profeſſed. It is certain, that when he ſpeaks of the Victories of *Marcus Aurelius*, he attributes to the Magic Art of one *Arnuphis* an *Egyptian*, rather than to the Prayers of the *Chriſtians*, the miraculous Rain which fell in Favour of the *Romans*, and the ſtrange Tempeſts which afflicted the Army of the *Quadi*, whom the learned *Cluverius* takes for the preſent *Moravians*. But is it a Wonder in Things ſubject to various Interpretations, as are ordinarily ſuch Prodigies, that *Dion* an idolatrous Hiſtorian ſhould not give the ſame Judgment as a Believer; and that he ſpake otherwiſe of them than *Tertullian*, *Euſebius*, and the credulous Fathers have done?

HIS Style is by *Photius* placed in the Rank of the moſt elevated, being exceedingly raiſed by the Sublimity of his Thoughts. His Diſcourſe, ſays he, is full of Phraſes, which reſemble the ancient Conſtruction or Syntax, and his Expreſſion anſwers the Greatneſs of his Subject. His Periods are often interrupted with Parentheſes, and he uſes many Tranſitions, which are very troubleſome when they are not employed artificially after his Manner. But one Thing is very remarkable, that though his Language is very numerous, and adjuſted according to Art; yet it appears to be ſo little laboured, that the Reader does not perceive the Care that has been occu-

pied in it; becauſe it is ſo clear and intelligible, that every one preſuppoſes as much Facility in the Compoſition, as there is in the Reading. He ſeems to have imitated *Thucydides*, whom he follows, eſpecially in his Narrative and his Orations; but he has this Advantage over him, not to be reproached with Obſcurity. *Thucydides* is his great Model in every Thing elſe, which he copies with the greateſt Solicitude. This is the Judgment *Photius* gives of him, who is to be allowed more Credit on this Occaſion than *Sigonius*, who cenſures *Dion* for being too *Aſiatic*, and ſo prolix in his Orations that he is tedious to his Readers. The World muſt be left to the Liberty of Thinking, according to the Law of the *Romans*, *Populo libera ſunto Suffragia:* Yet I conceive in what relates to Language, the ſureſt Way is to leave this to thoſe to whom it is natural, and who have imbibed it with their Nurſes Milk, rather than to Strangers who are much more liable to be miſtaken.

BESIDES the Hiſtory of *Dion*, it ſeems that *Suidas* aſcribes to him ſome other Compoſitions, as the Life of the Philoſopher *Arrian*, the Actions of *Trajan*, and certain Itineraries. *Raphael Volaterranus* makes him beſides Author of three Books intitled *De Principe*, and ſome ſmall Treatiſes of Morality.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* DION CASSIUS.

Græcè Typis nitidiſſimis, apud *Rob. Steph. Lutetiæ*, 1548. Fol. 1*l.* 1*s.*

Gr. & Lat. ex *Gul. Xylandri* Interpretatione, apud *Hen. Stephanum.* 1592. Fol. 1*l.* 1*s.*

Xiphilini excerpta e *Libris Dionis* deperditis. Gr. & Lat. apud *Hen. Steph.* 1592. Fol. 10*s.* 6d.

Gr. & Lat. cum fragmentis amiſſorum Notis *Joh. Leunclavii. Hanoviæ*, 1606. Fol. 15*s.*

Gr. & Lat. *Reimari*, 2 vols. Fol. *Hamburg*, 1750. 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*

HERODIAN,

HERODIAN,

A GRAMMARIAN of *Alexandria* in the third Century, the Son of *Apollonius*, ſirnamed *Dyſcolus*. He paſſed moſt Part of his Time at *Rome*, in the Court of the Emperors, where he wrote his Hiſtory, conſiſting of eight Books, comprehending a Period from the Death of *Antoninus* the Philoſopher to *Balbinus*, and *Maximus Pupienus* murdered by the Army, in favour of young *Gordian*, whom they elected his Succeſſor.

THE Hiſtory of *Herodian* receives its Commendation from the Merit of its Author. He declares at the Beginning of his firſt Book, that he will write only of the Affairs of his own Time, which he himſelf had ſeen or received from Perſons of the beſt Credit; for which he was excellently qualified, by Reaſon of the public Employments he exerciſed; for he might juſtly boaſt that he paſſed through the principal Offices of the State.

ABOUT the End of the ſecond Book he acquaints us, before he begins the Life of *Septimius Severus*, which contains all the third Book, that his Hiſtory in general ſhall comprehend the Space of ſeventy Years, and treat of the Government of all the Emperors who ſucceeded one another, during that Time;

that is, from the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* the Philoſopher, to that of the younger *Gordian*, Grandchild of the former, who is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the third of that Name. His eighth Book, which is the laſt of his Work, ends with the unworthy Slaughter of the two old Men *Balbinus* and *Pupienus*, whom he calls *Maximus*, perpetrated by the *Prætorian* Soldiers, to advance the above mentioned *Gordian* the younger to the Throne.

THIS Writer is praiſed for his excellent Judgment; his Obſervations are judicious and elegant, and whoever reads him with Attention will find a great and delightful Variety, both of Things and Men, and frequent Examples of the Frowns and Smiles of Fortune, as ſhe is ever mutable; he will obſerve ſtrange and wonderful Councils, and unexpected Events; he will find, as Occaſion ſerves, grave and weighty Sentences, and a Style full of Dignity and Sweetneſs. He will diſcover, ſays *Politian*, Plenty of neceſſary Materials for the Improvement of his Life and Manners, and as it were the Mirror of Humanity, which he may inſpect all his Life-time; and from which he may draw Inſtructions for the Conduct of public or private Affairs. This Author may be read either in the original *Greek*, or *Latin*; for it is hard to ſay, whether *Herodian* receives more Honour, who in his own Language flows in a copious Stream, or *Politian*, who has tranſlated him ſo happily that he does not ſeem ſo much to have tranſlated as to have written that Hiſtory. This Author, in the Judgment of *Photius*, has written with an Air ſo much the more clear and agreeable,

agreeable, in that he has not too much affected the *Attic* Terms, but ſo tempered his Diction, that his Diſcourſe is heightened above the lower Form of Oration; and, as there is nothing ſuperfluous, ſo it cannot be ſaid that he has omitted any Thing uſeful or neceſſary to be known; and he adds, to compleat his Character, that conſidering all the Qualifications of an Hiſtorian, there are few Authors to whom *Herodian* ought to yield the Palm.

It is obſerved by *La Mothe*, that this Writer has given a very noble and ſolemn Deſcription of the *Pagan* Ceremonies uſed at the Conſecration or Apotheoſis of the *Roman* Emperors. It is in the Beginning of the fourth Book, where he ſo well repreſents to us all the Funeral Honours rendered to the Aſhes of *Severus*, which his Children had tranſported from *England* in an Alabaſter Cheſt, that it is difficult to find any where a Relation more accurate and inſtructive. He tells us how they were put into an Urn with the general Adoration of the Senate and the People, and carried by the Conſuls to the Temple, where the ſacred Monuments of their Emperors were preſerved; and then proceeding to deſcribe the Funeral Pomp, he informs us that his Effigies in Wax, clothed in Robes of Gold, was placed at the Gate of his Palace on an Ivory Bed, elevated from the Ground and magnificently adorned; where, ſeven Days together, the Senators in Black, and the *Roman* Ladies in White, without any other Ornaments, came to pay their Reſpects; taking their Places, the Women on the Right, and the Men on the left Side of the Bed, all appearing with mourn-

ful Countenances. He obſerves alſo, that the Phyſicians came duly to viſit this Repreſentation of the Emperor, making formal Approaches to the Bed, as if he were alive, and declaring that his Sickneſs grew daily worſe and worſe. So true it is that this World is a continual Comedy. After this Ceremony had paſſed, the moſt conſiderable of the Youth and the Knights carried the ſame Bed on their Shoulders, firſt to the great *Forums*, where the Magiſtrates of *Rome* uſed to reſign their Charges; and there a *Chorus* of young Men on the one Side, and of Virgins on the other, ſung Hymns to the Praiſe of the dead Emperor. From thence they proceeded to the *Campus Martius*, which was without the City; where the Bed and Effigies were placed in a large ſquare Tabernacle of Wood, elevated to the Height of one of thoſe Towers, on which Lights are placed upon the Sea-Coaſts, to direct Mariners to avoid the Dangers of rocky Shores. In the next Place he writes, that the *Roman* Knights made their Horſes perform a ſolemn Proceſſion round about the Tabernacle in certain orderly Motions, which were at that Time called *Motus Pyrrhichii*; and in orbicular Revolutions. At the ſame Time there was a certain Number of Chariots filled with Perſons that repreſented the moſt qualified Men of the Empire, who alſo went in a Kind of Proceſſion round the great Machine, till the next Succeſſor of the Emperor took a Torch in his Hand, and with it kindled ſome combuſtible Matter made for that Purpoſe at the Bottom of it, and then in a little Time all the ſuperb Edifice was conſumed in Flames; and at the ſame Time they let

let an Eagle fly, which the *Pagan* Superſtition of that Age believed was to carry the Soul of the Deceaſed into Heaven.

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS allows *Herodian* to be a good Hiſtorian, but accuſes him nevertheleſs of preſſing too hard upon the Memory of *Alexander Severus*, and his Mother *Mammea*. This Charge is not well ſupported, for he ſpeaks very reſpectfully of the Clemency and mild Diſpoſition of this Prince, who reigned fourteen Years without any Effuſion of Blood, and without taking the Life of any one, otherwiſe than in the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice; which he remarks, as a Virtue very rare, and without Example, ſince the Reign of *Antoninus* the Philoſopher.

As to the Empreſs *Mammea*, who is propoſed by ſome as a Pattern to thoſe to whom is committed the Education of Princes, he by no Means approved her Government: Sometimes he deſcribes her as a Princeſs devoured by Avarice, who invaded the Poſſeſſions of others by evil and fraudulent Means; and ſays, ſhe was for that Reaſon hated by her Son. He then repreſents her to be ſo proud, that ſhe could not endure her Daughter-in-Law *Auguſta*, impatient to have the Title of Empreſs given to any but herſelf, but baniſhed her into *Africa*; after having cauſed her Father to be put to Death, againſt the Conſent of the Emperor, becauſe he made public Complaints of the Wrongs he and the young Empreſs had ſuffered by the Cruelty of the ſame *Mammea*. Nor was ſhe leſs injurious to her Son, who when he regretted the Defeat of the *Roman* Army, which was too far

advanced into the Country of the *Parthians*, could not but impute the Diſhonour of it to her; who, on Pretence of her Care, which perſuaded him not to hazard his Perſon, was the Occaſion of the Loſs of the Army, and of all the Reproach and Infamy that attended it. Nor does *Herodian* aſſign any other Cauſe of the Death both of the Mother and the Son, who were aſſaſſinated by the Soldiers, than the Hatred they had conceived againſt *Mammea*; becauſe of her inſatiable Avarice, and ſhameleſs Parſimony, by which Means *Maximius* was raiſed to the Empire.

BUT though *Herodian* juſtly blamed *Mammea* for her ill Conduct in regard to Government, he very much commends her Care in the Education of her Son, excluding from him all profane Perſons, and eſpecially thoſe Peſts of Courts, who flatter the bad Inclination of Princes, pervert their good Diſpoſitions, and vitiate their Underſtandings. She would ſuffer none to have Acceſs to him who were not virtuous in their Lives, and of approved Behaviour; and ſo diſcreetly regulated his Time, that it was chiefly employed in Affairs worthy of him. Nor was the Vigilance and great Pains ſhe took to preſerve her Son from ſo vile a Monſter as *Heliogabalus*, who uſed all Methods to deprive him of his Life, leſs worthy of Praiſe, as our Hiſtorian obſerves. *Lampridius* likewiſe commends the Piety of this Princeſs, and ſays, that there never was any Prince better educated than *Alexander Severus* in all the Exerciſes of Peace and War, by the excellent Maſters ſhe provided for him. And he finiſhes his Diſcourſe

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of the Life of that Emperor, in obſerving that he was of a ſweet Diſpoſition, being the Son of a moſt virtuous Mother. Thus the Integrity of this Hiſtorian ſeems clear and unblameable, nor is it Juſtice to condemn him, as guilty of Prejudice or Partiality in his Writings.

THOUGH we conſider *Herodian* in this Place as an Hiſtorian, yet we are told by *Suidas* that he wrote many other Books, which are not preſerved to our Time. From *Clarke*'s Letters on the *Spaniſh* Nation, it ſhould ſeem that his Life of *Antoninus Pius* is in the *Eſcurial* Library. *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls him *Artium minutiſſimum Sciſcitatorem.* He paſſed the beſt Part of his Life at *Rome* in the Courts of the Emperors, where he had Opportunities to inform himſelf, with that Curioſity which appears in his Writings, of many Particulars, which are to be found no where elſe.

ASSISTED by theſe Advantages, he traces the Actions of Men to their true Sources, ſhews how their Meaſures were concerted, and how purſued, inſtitutes grave and pertinent Reflections in due Time and Place, and offers Inſtructions and Advice, which, exactly followed, would conduce exceedingly to the Ornament and Improvement of human Life. His Language is perſpicuous and ſpirited, and flows with ſo much Eaſe, that he ſeems to have taken no Pains to adorn it; yet, negligent of Ornament as he appears, he ſtill preſerves a Majeſty ſuitable to the Greatneſs of the Subject of which he treats, and has ſomething in him ſo pleaſing, and ſo elegant, as perhaps all the Art and Labour of other Men can never reach;

which, by all the World is allowed a Beauty and Perfection of Style, not to be attained but by the compleateſt Genius, and the greateſt Maſters of the Language in which they write. His *Lives* ſeem to be written with the Air of a Gentleman, who is always natural and unaffected, as well in his Expreſſion as Behaviour, and may be diſtinguiſhed as well by the Faſhion of his Style as the Mien and Carriage of his Body. It may be truly ſaid, that as far as he has gone, he has holden up to us a juſt Picture of the *Roman* Emperors; laying open to our View, as well their Beauties as their Blemiſhes, and diſplaying both without Flattery or Prejudice in their true and natural Colours. It may be juſtly ſaid of him, as it was of *Suetonius*, that he wrote their *Lives* with the ſame Freedom as they led them. *Caſaubon* has done Juſtice to *Herodian* in this Particular, and eſtabliſhed the Fame of his Sincerity, as well as his other hiſtorical Virtues; whoſe Authority in the Republic of Letters is ſo conſiderable, that it would be needleſs to add any Thing more upon this Subject.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* HERODIAN.

Gr. & Lat. una cum *Zoſimi* Hiſt. Notis *Hen. Stephani*, apud *H. Steph.* 1581. 4to. 5*s*.
Gr. Lat. Notis *Hudſoni*. *Oxon.* 1678 & 1699. 8vo. 3*s*.
Gr. Lat. Notis *Boecleri*, & Indice omnium Verborum a *Balt. Scheidio*, 2 vols. *Argent.* 1662. 8vo. 3*s*.
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PLUTARCH.

PLUTARCH.

THIS Writer flouriſhed in the Time of *Trajan*, and was born at *Chæronea*, a ſmall City of *Bœotia* in *Greece*, between *Attica* and *Phocis*, in the latter End of the Reign of *Claudius*. *Xylander* has obſerved, that *Plutarch* himſelf in the Life of *Pericles* and that of *Anthony* has mentioned both *Nero* and *Domitian* as his Contemporaries. His Family was of great Antiquity in *Chæronea*, and had for many Deſcents borne the moſt conſiderable Offices in that petty Commonwealth; the chiefeſt of which was known by the Name of *Archon* among the *Grecians*. His Great-grandfather was *Nicarchus*, who among other Sons had *Lamprias*, a Man eminent for his Learning and Philoſophy. He makes mention of his Father in his *Sympoſia*, and repreſents him as arguing ſeveral Subjects of Philoſophy; but his Name is no where to be found in any Part of the Works remaining to us. He ſpeaks of him as a Man not unſkilled in Learning and Poetry.

THE Father of *Plutarch* had many Children beſides our Author; *Timon* and *Lamprias* his Brothers were bred up with him, all three inſtructed in the liberal Sciences, and in all Parts of Philoſophy. It is manifeſt from our Author that they lived together in great Intimacy, and in high Veneration to their Grandfather and Fa-

ther. What Affection *Plutarch* bore in particular to his Brother *Timon* may be collected from his own Words. "As for myſelf, tho' Fortune on ſeveral Occaſions has been favourable to me, I have no Obligation ſo great to her, as the Kindneſs and intire Friendſhip which my Brother *Timon* has always borne, and ſtill bears me; and this is ſo evident, that it cannot but be noted by every one of our Acquaintance." *Lamprias*, the youngeſt of the three, is introduced by him in his *Morals* as one of a mild and pleaſant Converſation, inclined to Mirth and Raillery, or as we ſay in *Engliſh*, a good tempered Man, and an excellent Companion.

THE whole Family being thus addicted to Philoſophy, it was no wonder if he was betimes addicted to Study, to which he was naturally inclined. In purſuit of which he was ſo happy as to fall into good Hands at firſt, being recommended to the Care of *Ammonius*, an *Egyptian*, who having taught Philoſophy with great Reputation at *Alexandria*, and from thence travelling into *Greece*, ſettled himſelf at laſt in *Athens*, where he was well received, and generally reſpected. At the End of the Life of *Themiſtocles*, *Plutarch* relates, that being young, he was a Penſioner in the Houſe of this *Ammonius*, and in his *Sympoſia* he introduces him diſputing with his Scholars, and giving them Inſtruction. Having the Aſſiſtance of ſuch a Maſter, he wonderfully advanced in Knowledge, without firſt travelling into foreign Parts, or acquiring any foreign Tongue, though the *Roman* Language at that Time was not only ſpoken in *Rome* itſelf, but generally through the Extent of that vaſt Empire, and

and in *Greece*, which was a Member of it; for like a true Philoſopher, who regarded Things, not Words, he ſtrove not to cultivate even his Mother Tongue with any great Exactneſs. He confeſſes in the Beginning of *Demoſthenes*'s Life, that during his Abode in *Italy* and at *Rome*, he had neither the Leiſure to ſtudy, nor ſo much as to cultivate the *Roman* Language, I ſuppoſe he means to write it, rather than ſpeak it; as well by reaſon of the Affairs he managed, as that he might acquit himſelf to thoſe who were deſirous of being inſtructed by him in Philoſophy, inſomuch that he became not converſant in *Latin* Books, till the concluding Scenes of his Life.

As it was his good Fortune to be firſt formed by Maſters the moſt excellent in their Kind, ſo it was his own Virtue to imbibe with an incredible Avidity, and earneſt Application of Mind, their wiſe Inſtructions; and it was alſo his Prudence, ſo to manage his Health by Moderation of Diet, and bodily Exerciſe, as to preſerve his Capacity without Decay to a great old Age, to be ſprightly and vigorous to the laſt, and to aſcertain himſelf to his own Enjoyments, and to the Profit of Mankind. Thus principled and grounded, he conſidered that a larger Communication with learned Men was neceſſary for his Accompliſhment; having therefore a Soul inſatiable of Knowledge, he formed a Reſolution to travel. *Egypt* was at that Time, as formerly it had been, famous for Learning, and probably the Myſteriouſneſs of their Doctrine might tempt him, as it had done *Pythagoras* and others, to converſe with the Prieſthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his Buſineſs, by the

Treatiſe of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, which he has left us; in which he ſhews that he was well verſed in the antient Theology and Philoſophy of thoſe wiſe Men. From *Egypt* returning into *Greece*, he viſited in his Way all the Academies or Schools of the Philoſophers, and collected from them many of thoſe Obſervations with which he has benefited and enriched Poſterity.

BESIDES this, he applied himſelf with extreme Diligence to collect not only all Books which were excellent in their Kind, and already publiſhed, but alſo all the Sayings and Diſcourſes of wiſe Men which he had heard in Converſation, or which he had received from others by Tradition; as likewiſe the Records and public Inſtruments preſerved in Cities which he had viſited in his Travels, and which he afterwards ſcattered through his Works. For which Purpoſe he took a particular Journey to *Sparta*, to ſearch the Archives of that famous Commonwealth, to underſtand thoroughly the Model of their antient Government, their Legiſlators, their Kings, and their *Ephori*; digeſting all their memorable Deeds and Sayings with ſo much Care that he has not omitted even thoſe of their Women, or their private Soldiers, together with their Cuſtoms, their Decrees, their Ceremonies, and the Manner of their public and their private Living, both in Peace and War. The ſame Method he alſo took in diverſe other Commonwealths, as his Lives, and his *Greek* and *Roman* Queſtions ſufficiently teſtify. From this rich Cabinet he has taken thoſe excellent Pieces which he has diſtributed to Poſterity, and which give us Occaſion to deplore the Loſs of the Reſidue which either

either the Injury of Time or the Negligence of Copiers have denied to us. With regard to his Opinions in Religion and Philoſophy, he in general followed the *Platonic* Sect, for he had that Reverence for the Memory of *Plato* and *Socrates*, that he annually celebrated their Birth-days with ſingular Veneration.

THERE can be no Exactneſs obſerved in writing the Life of *Plutarch*. His Wife's Name, her Parentage and Dowry are no where mentioned by him or any other, nor in what Part of his Age he married, though it is probable in the Flower of it. There is Reaſon to believe that his Wife's Name was *Timoxena*, whoſe Conjugal Virtues, her Abhorrence from the Vanities of her Sex, and from Superſtition, her Gravity in Behaviour, and her Conſtancy in ſupporting the Loſs of Children, he takes Occaſion to mention and applaud. The Number of his Children, were at leaſt five, a Daughter called *Timoxena*, and four Sons. Two of the Sons, *Autobulus* and *Charon*, and the Daughter, died young, the two remaining are ſuppoſed to have ſurvived him. The Name of one was *Plutarch*, that of the other *Lamprias*, ſo called in Memory of his Grandfather. This was he of all his Children who ſeems to have inherited his Father's Philoſophy, and to him we owe the Table or Catalogue of *Plutarch*'s Writings, and perhaps alſo the Apophthegms. His Nephew, but whether by his Brother or Siſter remains uncertain, was *Sextus Chæroneus*, who was much honoured by that learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, who taught him the *Greek* Tongue, and the Principles of Philoſophy.

THAT

THAT *Plutarch* was married in his own Country, and before he came to *Rome*, is probable; that the Fame of him anticipated him, by reaſon of ſome Part of his Works already publiſhed, is alſo credible, becauſe he had ſo great Concourſe of the *Roman* Nobility to hear him read immediately, as we believe, upon his coming; that he was invited thither by the Correſpondence he had with *Soſſius Senecio*, might be one Reaſon of his undertaking this Journey is almoſt undeniable. It likewiſe appears he was ſeveral Times at *Rome*, and perhaps before he came to inhabit there, might make Acquaintance with *Senecio*, who was four Times Conſul, to whom he dedicated almoſt all the Lives of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. He had an Opportunity while he was at *Rome*, by the Favour of many great and learned Men then living, to ſearch the Records of the Capitol, and the Libraries, which might furniſh him with proper Inſtruments and Materials for ſo noble an Undertaking as that of the *Roman* Lives, a Deſign which he had formed early, and on which he had reſolved to build his Fame. Not but that he was intruſted alſo with the Management of the public Affairs in the Empire, during his Reſidence in the Metropolis, which may be collected from what *Suidas* relates of him. *Plutarch*, ſays he, lived in the Time of *Trajan*, and alſo before his Reign, this Emperor beſtowed upon him the Dignity of Conſul; an Edict was alſo paſſed in favour of him, that the Magiſtrates or Officers of *Illyria* ſhould do nothing in that Province without the Knowledge and Approbation of *Plutarch*. When he was made known

known to *Trajan* is like the reſt uncertain, or by what Means, whether by *Senecio*, or any other, he was introduced to his Acquaintance. But it is moſt likely that *Trajan*, then a private Man, was one of the Auditors, among others of the Nobility of *Rome*. It is alſo thought this wiſe Emperor made uſe of him in all his Councils, and that the Happineſs which attended him in his Undertakings, together with the Adminiſtration of the Government, which, in all his Reign, was juſt and regular, proceeded from the Inſtructions given him by this wiſe and excellent Perſon.

FOR the Time of his Abode in the Imperial City, if he came as early as *Veſpaſian*, and departed not till after *Trajan*'s Death, as is generally thought, he might continue in *Italy* near forty Years. This is more certain, becauſe we learn from himſelf, that his *Lives* were almoſt the lateſt of his Works, and therefore we may well conclude, that having modelled, but not finiſhed them at *Rome*, he afterwards reſumed the Work in his own Country, which perfecting in his old Age, he dedicated to his Friend *Senecio*, ſtill living, as appears by what he has written in the Preface to his Lives. The Deſire of viſiting his own Country, ſo natural to all Men, and the Approaches of old Age, for he could not be much leſs than ſixty, and perhaps alſo the Death of *Trajan*, prevailed with him at laſt to leave *Italy*. After his Return, he was by the unanimous Conſent of his Citizens, choſen *Archon*, or chief Magiſtrate of *Chæronea*, and not long after admitted himſelf into the Number of *Apollo*'s Prieſts, in both which Employments he ſeems to have continued till his Death; of which

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we have no particular Account, either as to the Manner of it, or the Year, only it is evident that he lived and continued his Studies to a great old Age.

PLUTARCH has been juſtly praiſed for his Fund of Learning, his Integrity, Perſpicuity, and more than all this, for a certain Air of Goodneſs which appears in all his Writings. His Buſineſs was not to pleaſe the Ear, but to engage and to inſtruct the Mind; we may therefore eaſily forgive the Cadences of his Words, and the Aſperity of his Expreſſion; yet for Manlineſs of Eloquence, if it abounded not in this Writer, it was not wanting in him. He neither ſtudied the ſublime, nor affected the flowery Style. The Choice of Words, the Numbers of Periods, the Turns of Sentences, and the other Ornaments of Speech, he neither ſought nor ſhun'd. But Depth of Senſe, Accuracy of Judgment, Diſpoſition of the Parts, Contexture of the whole, in ſo admirable and vaſt a Field of Matter, and laſtly, Copiouſneſs and Variety of Words, appear reſplendent throughout his whole Works.

IT is eaſy to load this Writer with the Praiſes and Commemorations of the Learned in all Ages, for both antient and modern have made honourable Mention of him. To overburden this ſhort Account with long Quotations is enough to raiſe a Diſtruſt, in common Readers, that *Plutarch* wants them. *Theodorus Gaza*, a Man learned in the *Latin*, and a great Reſtorer of the *Greek* Language, who lived above two hundred Years ago, deſerves to have his Suffrage ſet down in Words at length; for the reſt have only commended *Plutarch* more than any ſingle Author, but

but he has extolled him above all together. It is ſaid, that having this extravagant Queſtion put to him by a Friend, that if Learning muſt ſuffer a general Shipwreck, and he had only his Choice left him of preſerving one Author, who ſhould be the Writer he would preſerve? he anſwered, *Plutarch*; and might probably give this Reaſon, that in ſaving him he ſhould ſave the beſt Collection of them all.

THE Epigram of *Agathias* deſerves alſo to be remembered; this Author flouriſhed about the Year five Hundred, in the Reign of the Emperor *Juſtinian*; the Verſes are extant in the *Anthologia*, and with the Tranſlation of them, by Mr. *Dryden*, I will conclude the Praiſes of this Author, promiſing firſt, that they are ſuppoſed to be written upon a Statue erected by the *Romans* to his Memory.

Cheronean Plutarch, *to thy deathleſs Praiſe,*
Does martial Rome *this grateful Statue raiſe;*
Becauſe both Greece *and ſhe thy Fame have ſhar'd,*
Their Heroes written, and their Lives compar'd.
But thou thyſelf could'ſt never write thy own;
Their Lives have Parallels, but thine has none.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* PLUTARCH.

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LUCIAN.

LUCIAN.

LUCIAN, as pleaſing and uſeful as he is in his Writings, has left ſo little of his own Affairs on Record, that there is ſcarce ſufficient to fill a Page from his Birth to his Death. There were many of the Name of *Lucian* among the Ancients, eminent in ſeveral Reſpects, and whoſe Names have reached Poſterity with Honour and Applauſe. *Suidas* mentions one as a Perſon of ſingular Probity, who having diſcharged the Adminiſtration of the chief Præfect of the Oriental Empire under *Arcadius*, with extraordinary Juſtice and Praiſe of the People, drew on himſelf the Envy and Hate of the Courtiers, (the conſtant Attendant of eminent Virtue and Merit) and the Anger of the Emperor himſelf, and was at laſt violently deſtroyed.

AMONG thoſe eminent for their Learning were ſome Divines and Philoſophers; but none of this Name has met with the general Applauſe of ſo many Ages as *Lucian* the Philoſopher and eminent *Sophiſt*, Author of the Dialogues. He had not the good Fortune to be born of illuſtrious or wealthy Parents, which give a Man a very advantageous Riſe on his firſt Appearance in the World; but the Father of our *Lucian* laboured under ſuch a Straitneſs of Circumſtances,

cumſtances, that he was glad to put his Son Apprentice to a *Statuary*, whoſe Genius for the finer Studies was ſo extraordinary and ſo rare, becauſe he hoped from that Buſineſs not only a ſpeedy Supply of his own Wants, but was ſecure that his Education in that Art would be much leſs expenſive to him.

He was born at *Samoſata*, a City of *Syria*, not far from the River *Euphrates*, and for this Reaſon he calls himſelf more than once an *Aſſyrian*, or a *Syrian*; but he was of a *Greek Original*, his Forefathers having been Citizens of *Patra* in *Achaia*. We have nothing certain as to the exact Time of his Birth; *Suidas* confirms his flouriſhing under the Emperor *Trajan*. Some mention the Reign of *Adrian*, but it cannot be fixed to any Year or Conſulate. The Perſon he was bound to was his Uncle a Man of a ſevere and moroſe Temper, of whom he was to learn the Statuary's and Stonecutter's Art; for his Father obſerving our *Lucian*, now a Boy, of his own Head, and without any Inſtructor, make various Figures in Wax, he perſuaded himſelf, that if he had a good Maſter, he could not but arrive at an uncommon Excellence in it.

But it happened in the very Beginning of his Time, that he broke a Model, and was very ſeverely chaſtiſed for it by his Maſter: He not liking this Treatment, and having a Soul and Genius above any mechanic Trade, ran home. After which in his Sleep there appeared to him two young Women, or rather the tutelary Goddeſſes of the Statuary Art, and of the liberal Sciences, warmly diſputing of their Preference to each other, and on a full Hearing of both Sides,

Sides, he bids adieu to Statuary, and intirely ſurrenders himſelf to the Conduct of Virtue and Learning. And as his Deſire of Improvement was great, and the Inſtructions he had very good, the Progreſs he made was as conſiderable, till by the Maturity of his Age, and his Study, he made his Appearance in the World. Though it is not ſuppoſed, that there is any Thing of Reality in this Dream or Viſion of *Lucian*, of which he treats in his Works, yet this may be gathered from it, that *Lucian* himſelf having conſulted his Genius, and the Nature of the Study his Father had allotted him, and that to which he found a Propenſity in himſelf, quitted the former and purſued the latter, chuſing rather to form the Minds, than the Statues of Men.

IN his Youth he taught Rhetoric in *Gaul*, and ſeveral other Places. He pleaded likewiſe at the Bar in *Antioch*, the Capital of *Syria*, but the Noiſe of the Bar diſguſting, and his ill Succeſs in Cauſes diſheartning him, he quitted the Practice of Rhetoric and the Law, and applied himſelf to Writing. He was forty Years old when he firſt ſtudied Philoſophy. Having a Deſire to make himſelf known in *Macedon*, he took the Opportunity of ſpeaking in the public Aſſemblies of all that Region. In his old Age he was received into the Imperial Family, and had the Place of Intendant of *Egypt*, after he had travelled through almoſt all the known Countries of that Age, to improve his Knowledge in Men, Manners, and Arts. For ſome Writers make this particular Obſervation on his Travel into *Gaul*, and Reſidence in that Country, that he

gained

gained there the greateſt Part of his Knowledge in Rhetoric; that Region being in his Age, and alſo before it, a Nurſery of Eloquence and Oratory, as *Juvenal*, *Martial*, and others ſufficiently witneſs.

THE Manner of his Death is obſcure to us, though it is moſt probable he died of the Gout. *Suidas* alone tells a Story of his being worried to Death and devoured by Dogs returning from a Feaſt, which being ſo uncommon a Death, ſo very improbable, and atteſted only by one Author, has found little Credit with Poſterity. If it be true that he was once a *Chriſtian*, and afterwards abjured that Belief, perhaps ſome Zealots may have invented this Tale of his Death as a juſt and ſignal Puniſhment for his Apoſtaſy. This Story is generally looked upon as a Fiction, and it is more likely that he ſhould die in his Bed at ſo great an Age as fourſcore and ten, than be torn in Pieces and devoured by Dogs, when he was too feeble to defend himſelf. Of his Poſterity we know nothing more, than that he left a Son behind him, who was as much in Favour with the Emperor *Julian* as his Father had been with *Aurelius* the Philoſopher. This Son became in Time a famous *Sophiſt*, and among the Works of *Julian*, we find an Epiſtle of that great Perſon to him.

LUCIAN ſeems to have adopted no ſettled Principles of Religion; he rather doubted of every Thing, weighed all Opinions, and adhered to none of them, only uſed them as they ſerved his Occaſion for the preſent Dialogue, and perhaps rejected them in the next. And this is the more likely, if we conſider the Genius of the

the Man, whoſe Image we may clearly ſee in the Glaſs which he holds up to us of his Writings. He is in one Half of his Book a *Stoic*, in the other an *Epicurean*, never conſtant to himſelf in any Scheme of Divinity, unleſs it be in deſpiſing his *Gentile* Gods. This Deriſion, as it ſhews the Man himſelf, ſo it gives us an Idea of the Age in which he lived; for if that had been devout or ignorant, his ſcoffing Humour had been either reſtrained, or had not paſſed unpuniſhed, all knowing Ages being naturally Sceptic, and not at all bigotted, which, if I am not much deceived, is the proper Character of our own. In ſhort, he was too fantaſtical, too giddy, too irreſolute either to be any Thing at all, or any Thing long; and in this View I cannot think he was either a ſteady Atheiſt, or a Deiſt, but a Doubter, a Sceptic, as he plainly declares himſelf to be in the Dialogue, called the *Sects*, where he perſonates *Hermotimus* the Stoic.

As for his Morals, they are ſpoken of as variouſly as his Opinions; ſome are for decrying him more than he deſerves, his Defenders themſelves dare not exhibit him as a Pattern of ſevere Virtue; no Man is ſo profligate as openly to profeſs Vice; and therefore it is no Wonder if under the Reign of *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, and the two *Antonines*, of which the laſt was his Patron and Benefactor, he lived not ſo much a Libertine as he had it to be in his Nature. He is more accuſed for his Love of Boys, than of Women. Not that we have any particular Story to convince us of this deteſtable Paſſion in him, but his own Writings bear this Record againſt him, for he ſpeaks often of it, and I know

know not that ever he condemns it. Repeated Expreſſions as well as repeated Actions witneſs ſome ſecret Pleaſure in the Deed, or at leaſt ſome ſecret Inclination to it. He ſeems to inſinuate in his Dialogue of *Loves*, that *Socrates* was addicted to this Vice, but we find not that he blames him for it; which, had he been wholly innocent himſelf, it became a Philoſopher to have done. He is accuſed likewiſe for writing too libidinouſly in his Dialogues of the *Harlots*. We find not however that *Lucian* was charged with the Wantonneſs of his Dialogues in his Life-time; if he had been, he would certainly have anſwered for himſelf, as he did to thoſe who accuſed him for expoſing *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Diogenes*, and other great Philoſophers, to the Deriſion of the People, when *Jupiter* ſold them by Inch of Candle.

In other Reſpects, this Writer was of a Life as unblameable as any Man, for aught we find to the contrary; and this is probable, as he had ſo honourable an Employment under *Marcus Aurelius*, an Emperor as intelligent as he was truly virtuous. This Writer ſeems to be an Enemy to nothing but to Vice and Folly. The Pictures which he draws of *Nigrinus* and of *Demonax*, are as fair as that of Virtue herſelf, if, as the Philoſopher ſaid, ſhe could aſſume a Form. And if we oppoſe to them the Lives of *Alexander*, the falſe Prophet, and of *Peregrinus*, how pleaſingly, and with how much Profit does the Deformity of the laſt ſet off the Beauty of the firſt?

LUCIAN is generally allowed to have been an univerſal Scholar, and a prodigious Wit; he

is *Attic* and neat in his Style, clear in his Narration, and wonderfully facetious in his Repartees; he furniſhes you with almoſt all the poetical Hiſtory in ſuch a diverting Manner, that you will not eaſily forget it; and ſupplies the moſt dry and barren Wit with a rich Plenty of Materials. If we compare his Style with the *Greek* Hiſtorians his Contemporaries, or near his Time, we ſhall find it much more pure than that of *Plutarch*, *Dion*, or *Appian*, though not ſo grave; becauſe his Subjects and theirs required to be treated after a different Manner. It was not of an uniform Web, ſays *Mayn*, like *Thucydides*, *Polybius*, and ſome others whom he names, but was ſomewhat peculiar to himſelf; his Words well choſen, his Periods round, the Parts of his Sentences harmoniouſly divided; a full Flood, or even a Torrent of Perſuaſion, without Inequalities or Swellings, ſuch as might be put in equal Compariſon with the beſt Orations of *Demoſthenes*, or *Iſocrates*, not ſo dry as the firſt, or ſo flowery as the laſt. His Wit, ſays *Ablancourt*, was full of Urbanity, that *Attic* Salt, which the *French* call *fine Raillery*; not obſcene, not groſs, not rude, but facetious, well-mannered, and well-bred. Only he will not allow his Love the Quality laſt mentioned, but thinks it ruſtic, and according either to his own Genius, or that of the Age in which he lived.

IF Wit conſiſts in the Propriety of Thoughts and Words, then *Lucian*'s Thoughts and Words are always proper to his Characters, and to his Subjects. If the Pleaſure ariſing from Comedy and Satire be either Laughter, or ſome nobler Sort of Delight which is above it, no Man is ſo

great a Maſter of Irony as this Writer. That Figure is not only a keen, but a ſhining Weapon in his Hand, it glitters in the Eyes of thoſe it kills; his own Gods, his greateſt Enemies, are not butchered by him, but fairly ſlain; they muſt acknowledge the Hero in the Stroke, and take the Comfort which *Virgil* gives to a dying Captain, *Æneæ magni dextrâ cadis.*

I KNOW not whom *Lucian* imitated, unleſs it was *Ariſtophanes*, (for you never find him mentioning any *Roman* Genius, ſo much the *Grecians* thought themſelves ſuperior to their Conquerors.) But he who has beſt imitated him in *Latin*, is *Eraſmus*, and in *French*, *Fontenelle* in his *Dialogues of the Dead*, which I never read but with freſh Pleaſure.

THE Way in which *Lucian* choſe to deliver his pleaſing and profitable Truths, was that of Dialogue. He was ſenſible of the difficult Taſk he undertook in this Mode of Writing, as appears in his Diſcourſe againſt one who had called him *Prometheus*. He owns himſelf in this Particular to be like him, to whom he was compared, in that he was the Inventor of a new Work in a new Manner, the Model of which he had from none before him; but adds, that if he could not give it the Graces which belong to ſo happy an Invention, he deſerves to be torn by twelve Vultures inſtead of that one, which preys upon the Heart of the firſt Man-potter. For, to quit the beaten Road of the Ancients, and take a Path of his own chooſing, he acknowledges to be a bold and ridiculous Attempt, if it ſucceed not. The Mirth of Dialogue and Comedy in my Work, ſays he, is not enough to make it plea-

ſing; becauſe the Union of two Contraries may as well produce a Monſter as a Miracle, as a Centaur reſults from the combined Nature of Horſe and Man.

IT is evident, that the chief Deſign of this Writer was to diſneſt Heaven of ſo many immoral and debauched Deities; his next, to expoſe the mock Philoſophers; and his laſt, to give us Examples of a good Life in the Perſons of the true. The reſt of his Diſcourſes are on mixed Subjects, leſs for Profit and Delight; and ſome of them too licentious.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* LUCIAN.

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IS CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS.

S excellent Hiſtorian was born at *Ami-num*, in the Country of the *Sabines*, in r Six hundred and ſixty-eight, from the tion of *Rome*; being the very ſame , according to the *Roman* Annals, was taken and ſacked by *Sylla*. He was ed from the noble Family of the *Salluſtii*, had for a long Series of Years made a in the ſecond Order or Degree of Qua- he Republic. He had his Education at the moſt illuſtrious City then in the ; and finding his Genius not adapted to but the more refined Labours of the he applied himſelf to the Purſuit of g.

vas led, as well by his Judgment as his tion to the Subject of Hiſtory. And, e Courſe of his Education he had for his tor, among others, *Atteius Prætexatus*, *Philologus*, one of the moſt famous arians of the Age; the ſame *Atteius*, deſigning an Hiſtory, furniſhed him with tract of the Affairs of the *Romans*, to his Choice of what he ſhould write. is Reaſon to believe he had laid the ition of his hiſtorical Works in his ears, but that he was interrupted from ting it by the Occupations of a public

Employment; for being ſeized by the Diſeaſe of Ambition, as he very ingenuouſly intimates himſelf, he would needs have a Poſt in the Government. It ought to be obſerved, that the Manners of the *Romans* were at that Time extremely degenerated. Now *Salluſt* entering upon public Buſineſs in Times ſo corrupt, and being young, it will be the leſs wondered at, that he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome. It was enough perhaps to batter down a ſeverer Virtue than his, and yet he profeſſes that he did in his Heart abominate the Vices he ſaw practiſed. But the Tide againſt him was ſo ſtrong, that all the great and magnanimous Notions he had been poſſeſſed with concerning the Virtue and Diſcipline of the ancient *Romans* became languid in him. In ſhort, he was borne away by the Torrent, and plunged into the common Corruption.

WE are told he was made a Tribune of the People in the Year that *Clodius* was killed by *Milo*. In this Office (wherein by the Way it is ſaid he acquired no Reputation) he acted with great Violence againſt *Milo*, to revenge the Treatment received from him on Account of *Fauſta*, the Daughter of *Sylla*, with whom having been taken in Adultery, *Milo*, as Tribune at that Juncture, had ſentenced to be ſeverely whipped; which Puniſhment he commuted by a Sum of Money. Moreover, the Invective aſcribed to *Cicero* relates, that in the Year Seven hundred or three or four, he was expelled the Senate by the Cenſors *Appius Claudius* and *Calphurnius Piſo*, upon Account of his Fornications and Adulteries. *Suetonius* alſo tells us that *Lenæus* a Grammarian and Freedman

Freedman of *Pompey*'s, laſhed him ſeverely in *Lampoons*, calling him *Whoremaſter*, *Glutton*, *Debauchee*, and a Monſter of Inconſiſtencies in his Life and Writings. And the aforementioned Invective arraigns him of ſelling his Patrimony in the Life-time of his Father, of his having been twice tried for Crimes, whereby he was brought into the laſt Danger, from which he eſcaped, not by his own Innocence, but by his Judges ſuffering themſelves to be forſworn; of his having the Impudence in open Senate to acknowledge himſelf guilty of Adultery; and, in fine, of ſeveral other Enormities too ſcandalous to be recorded.

AFTER his Expulſion from the Senate, and during his Receſs from public Affairs, he applied himſelf to the Proſecution of his former Deſign, of compiling his Hiſtory. But ſome Time after, upon *Julius Cæſar*'s coming to be at the Head of Affairs, *Salluſt* was not only reſtored to his Dignity of Senator, but was made Queſtor. In which Office, the aforeſaid Invective proceeds to accuſe him of great Corruption, of making Sale of every Thing that he could in it, of uſing it only as an Occaſion of Plunder, and of bringing the very Office into Diſgrace. However he was afterwards made Prætor, I ſuppoſe, by the like Promotion of *Cæſar*; in which Employment, as we have it from *Hirtius*, in the Beginning of his Hiſtory of the *African* War, *Cæſar* ſent him with a Squadron of his Fleet againſt the Iſland of *Cercina*, upon Intelligence there was a great Quantity of Corn in it. Moreover *Dion* has another Paſſage concerning his Prætorſhip, to

this Purpoſe, that the Forces of *Cæſar* which lay in *Campania*, and were deſigned for *Africa*, happening to mutiny, and the Prætor *Salluſt* departing for *Rome* to give him an Account of it, he was very near being ſlain by ſome of the Soldiers, who purſued him, put to the Sword two Senators, and ſpared none who fell into their Hands. The ſame Author relates, that *Cæſar* beſtowed on him alſo the Government of *Numidia*. Here again the Invective I have quoted (whoſe Authority is much ſuſpected) abuſes him for his Covetouſneſs and Rapine, intimating that he treated it not like a Province, but an Enemy's Country, by his Exactions; that he amaſſed all that he could get, and brought it off for his own Uſe. By this Means he returned ſo rich from *Africa*, that he purchaſed one of the nobleſt Dwellings in *Rome* on the Quirinal Mount with ſpacious Gardens, which to this Day are called the Gardens of *Salluſt*: Beſides this, he had a Country-Houſe at *Tivoli*, with which *Cicero* upbraids him in the ſame Invective. The Remark of *La Mothe* upon this Occaſion, is very juſt: No one ever ſpoke more eloquently in Defence of Virtue, and particularly of Chaſtity than he, or uſed more rigid Cenſures againſt the Profligacy and Avarice of his Time; and therefore the Infamy of his Actions fell the heavier upon him, becauſe it was conſidered how ſeverely he had expoſed thoſe in his Hiſtory, who were much leſs guilty of Rapine than himſelf; and *Metellus*, among others, whoſe Exceſſes in *Spain* he laid open with the utmoſt Freedom and Severity. His Life was very different from his Writings,

Writings, and his Example alone is ſufficient to prove, that as very good Men may write very bad Books, ſo vicious Men may ſometimes compoſe very good ones; it being not incongruous, that an Author ſhould at the ſame Time be an excellent Hiſtorian and a very wicked Man.

He married *Terentia* the Wife of *Cicero*, after her being divorced, which, whether it gave Birth to the Quarrel that ſubſiſted between him and the Orator, or was ſubſequent to it, and poſſibly increaſed it, as I rather believe, remains uncertain; but, as to his Death, we are ſure that it happened ſome few Years after that of *Cæſar*, that he arrived at the Age of threeſcore and two, and died in his own Country. His Reputation for Wit and Learning introduced him into the Friendſhip of the greateſt Men of his Age: He was more particularly intimate with *Meſſala*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Nigidius Figulus*. But *Cæſar* was the Perſon who had a peculiar Kindneſs for *Salluſt*, who again was a greater Admirer of the other, regarding him as an extraordinary Man, as appears by the two Epiſtles to the latter, and by the Character drawn of him in *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy. And yet he ſeems to have been of a Genius in many Reſpects oppoſite to *Cæſar*'s, to have had different Notions of Government and of Glory, and to give the Preference tacitly to *Cato*.

This ſhort Account comprehends the principal Tranſactions that concern the Life and Morals of *Salluſt*; but to attempt a juſt and particular Character of his Writings, or to collect the Teſtimonies of Commendation and Praiſe beſtowed upon him in the moſt polite

Ages of Literature, would infinitely exceed the Limits I propoſe on this Subject. *Tacitus* calls him *Rerum Romanarum florentiſſimum Auctorem. Criſpus Romanâ primus in Hiſtoriâ*, ſays *Martial. Agellius* in one Place pronounces him, *Subtiliſſimum Brevitatis Artificem*; in another, *Proprietatum in Verbis retineutiſſimum.* If it were left to me, ſays *Lipſius*, I ſhould not heſitate to chooſe *Saluſt* for Preſident in the College of Hiſtorians. And without detracting from *Tacitas* or *Livy*, I will venture to ſay, thoſe great Authors might have met with leſs Admiration from the World, had *Saluſt* come down to us more intire; but it will be remembered by good Judges, that in theſe Matters it is not the Bulk but the Genius and Judgment that conſtitutes Merit; nor will any of Taſte among the Moderns ever diſturb his Enjoyment of the Place, allowed him by the beſt Judges of Antiquity, who put him at the Head of the *Roman* Hiſtorians. We are aſſured by *Suidas*, that one *Zenobius* a *Greek* Sophiſt took the Pains to tranſlate the Hiſtory of *Salluſt* into *Greek*. It is the Judgment of *Seneca*, in one of his Declamations, that he ſurpaſſed *Thucydides*, whom he profeſſed to imitate, in his conciſe Way of Writing; and beat him, as he ſpeaks, in his own Fortification, *Cum ſit præcipua in Thucydide Virtus Brevitas, hâc eum Salluſtius vicit, & in ſuis eum Caſtris cecidit.* We are told by *Spartian*, that *Septimius Severus* at the Point of Death, feeling himſelf ſubdued by Sickneſs, ſent to his eldeſt Son that divine Oration, as he calls it, which, *Salluſt* makes *Micipſa* at his Death ſpeak to his Children, to perſuade them to mutual Concord and Affection.

Affection. It is in the Beginning of the *Jugurthine* War.

THE War of *Jugurtha* and the *Catilinarian* Conſpiracy, is all we have compleat of this Hiſtorian. Nothing is left of that excellent Hiſtory, which made him ſtyled the Prince of Hiſtorians, but four Orations and two Epiſtles, collected from the ancient Grammarians and other Writers. The Learned are not agreed, whether the two Orations to *Cæſar*, concerning the Regulation of the Commonwealth, belong to *Salluſt*. *Voſſius* regarded them as genuine, not as Orations but Epiſtles. The Oration againſt *Cicero*, though commended by *Fabius* as *Salluſt*'s, *Voſſius* thought belonged to ſome Declaimer, and was unjuſtly charged upon this Hiſtorian.

THE Critics have been almoſt diſappointed, and laboured to little Purpoſe, to fix any conſiderable Blemiſhes upon the Writings of this Hiſtorian. They would ſay indeed, that he has not been juſt to *Cicero*, in not only omitting his Character, but alſo in paſſing over in Silence Matters of Fact, that would have redounded to his Glory though in his Account of *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy he had a fair Opportunity of mentioning ſeveral. They object, that the Prefaces of *Salluſt* have not only little or no Relation to the Pieces to which he has prefixed them, but they are alſo too long. They may be called, ſays *La Mothe*, a Saddle for all Horſes; becauſe, as *Quintilian* well obſerves, they have nothing which relates to the Hiſtory, nor any Thing which renders them more proper for one Compoſition than another. They urge, that he plundered the *Origines* of *Cato*, for old obſolete

Words, and affected to innovate in his Diction and Style; and the moſt ingenious Father *Le Moyne* complains of his making *Memmius* harangue it, upon no other Account than becauſe he was one of the beſt Speakers of his Time. Theſe are the principal Cenſures that the Labours of *Salluſt* have undergone, and after all he will keep his Rank, and continue among the foremoſt of his Order.

HIS Subject is allowed to be great and noble, it treats of Matters of Note and Importance, freed from every Thing trivial or of Levity. He ſeems, at leaſt for the moſt part, to have been a diſintereſted and impartial Writer, to be attached to no particular Party, to be free from the Influence of Hope and of Fear, to have made Truth his great Object, and to have aimed at Certainty, if poſſible, in all Things; ſo that in Reſpect to the *Punic* Wars, we are told, he not only examined the Memoirs and Writings of thoſe Countries, but viſited many Places in Perſon, to avoid Miſtakes in his Accounts and Deſcriptions.

BUT it is not enough for Hiſtorians to produce bare Truth, how important ſoever; ſhe muſt alſo be adorned with a becoming Veſt, and the Splendour of Eloquence muſt attend her. *Salluſt* is admirable in this Particular, and his Compoſition is animated and enlivened throughout. There is Life, there is Spirit, there is Energy in his Work; and his Diction is of the Character of Poeſy, wherein he has all the moſt glowing Colours, though without any Thing glaring or improper. *Pontinus* has made an agreeable Parallel of the Figures and Manner of Diction

Diction in *Salluſt*, and ſome others with the like in *Virgil*; and ſhewn that the latter, in many Inſtances, is not more a Poet than the former. We are almoſt preſent in his Battles and Sieges, the Deſcriptions have ſuch Life and Vivacity. And we are ſecretly drawn to intereſt ourſelves in the Event of his Actions and Succeſſes of his Perſons.

He has the Art of drawing the moſt lively and inſtructive Portraitures of Men. He enters into their Nature, explores the Labyrinths and Receſſes of the Soul; and, with a ſort of Anatomy, lays open all the Folds of the human Heart. In which Performance, and particularly in the Character given of *Catiline*, he hath let us ſee there are Qualities to be found in the Mind of Man that may look at firſt Sight inconſiſtent, yet are not ſo; but may reign alternately, if not together in the ſame Perſons. And laſtly, his Draughts are of that kind, that if they go before the Narration, they prepare us for it, and raiſe in our Minds an Expectation, in which he never diſappoints, that ſuch and ſuch Facts will enſue. But wherever he places them, they harmonize with, and ſeem to ariſe from the Actions of the Perſons.

And as his Images of Men are ſtriking, his Reflections on Things are juſt and ſolid. He had a Genius capable of comprehending and repreſenting the Greatneſs of the moſt illuſtrious Tranſactions. He paſſes ſuch Judgments upon them as ſeem to proceed from a finiſhed Wiſdom. I might alſo mention the Sententiouſneſs of this Hiſtorian, wherein there is as much of Poignancy as of Weight. I have ſaid before,

his Style approaches the Poetic; and now let me take ſome Notice of its Brevity. There is a certain Frugality, a Continence in his Language, in which he has outdone *Thucydides* himſelf; and one of the Topics on which *Tacitus* is praiſed, is his imitating *Salluſt* in this Perfection: Of which none is capable that is not of an accurate and conſummate Judgment, nor without a Sort of Temperance of the Mind, and Command over a Man's Spirit. For with all his Thrift and Parſimony of Expreſſion, there is a rich and ſufficient Fund of Matter: and it was the Talent of this excellent Writer, though of very few other beſides him, fully to accompliſh his own Remark upon *Cato*, *of diſpatching much in a few Words.* Nor does his Conciſeneſs at all lie in making the Veſt too ſcanty and diſproportionate. It was not with the Ideas of his Mind only he was able to meaſure the greateſt Things, he hath alſo clothed them with a Style and Expreſſion fully adequate and proportioned to their Nature, and has made at once his Thoughts and his Diction accord in Grandeur with the Dignity of his Subject. This is the *Facta Dictis exæquanda*, which *Salluſt* himſelf has taken Notice of, as one of the trying Difficulties of Hiſtory.

THE *French* Critic *Rapin* has with great Exactneſs entered into the particular Accompliſhments of this great Hiſtorian, and does not forget the Chief of his Faults. *Salluſt* is noble and ſublime in his Way of Writing, which made *Quintilian* compare him with *Thucydides*. But the Queſtion is, whether *Salluſt*'s Style, as ſuccinct as it is, be not more proper for Hiſtory, and

and gives not more Force and Weight to the Diſcourſe. Has it not alſo its Beauties? *Salluſt*'s Character is to be exact and conciſe, he is principally to be commended for the Spirit and Rapidity of his Expreſſion, which animates him and gives him ſo much Life. His Deſcription of the Place where *Jugurtha* was defeated by *Metellus*, ſerves to acquaint us the better with the Fight. We ſee by it the Fortitude of the *Roman* General, as well as the Experience of the King of *Numidia*, in taking all the Advantages of the Ground; and the whole Account of the Fight is better underſtood by the Image of the Place, which the Hiſtorian ſets before our Eyes. The Deſcription of *Africa* in *Salluſt*'s War of *Jugurtha* is too minute and particular. He ſhould not have ſaid ſo much to mark the Bounds of the Kingdom of *Atherbal* and *Jugurtha* then in Queſtion. What Need was there to deſcribe that vaſt Country, and to diſtinguiſh the particular Manners of ſo many different Nations? *Trogus* charges *Salluſt* and *Livy* (and not without a great deal of Reaſon) with a wanton and immoderate Exceſs of Harangues in their Hiſtories. And indeed all thoſe Speeches we put in the Mouths of Great Men, carry with them an Air of Falſhood; for from what Memoirs can a Man pretend to have deduced them? And beſides a Warrior never ſpeaks like an Orator. Therefore Harangues are ſuppoſitious, and that which *Salluſt* makes *Catiline* ſpeak to the Conſpirators, was, in all Likelihood ſecret and extemporary.

THE Harangues of this Hiſtorian are admirable, but ſeldom to the Purpoſe. Nothing can be

be finer than *Marius*'s Speech, it is the ſoundeſt Piece of Morality extant, concerning a noble Birth; every Thing there is reaſonable, and Antiquity cannot boaſt of many Diſcourſes, where one may find ſuch cogent Perſuaſions to Virtue; but this is out of its proper Place.

WE ought to hold up the Picture of none but important Perſons, wherein *Salluſt* is faulty; for he gives us the Picture of *Sempronius*, who is but indirectly concerned in the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*: He is too prolix, when he inveighs againſt the Corruption and looſe Manners of his Time: He is always angry with his Country, and ever diſcontented with the Government. He gives us too ill an Opinion of the Commonwealth, by his Invectives and Reflections upon the Luxury of *Rome*. Nothing can be more eloquent than the Deſcription of the Condition *Rome* was in when *Catiline* took the Reſolution of making himſelf Maſter of it. And when that admirable Author repreſents the Commonwealth corrupted by Luxury and Avarice, and ſinking under the Weight of its own Greatneſs, he uſes the moſt exquiſite and eloquent Expreſſions that can be met with in any Hiſtory. It is in thoſe Images that a Man of Skill has an Opportunity to ſhew it, and the Hiſtorians of the firſt Rate are full of thoſe fine Strokes. *Salluſt*'s Preambles, which are great Speeches full of Senſe and manly Eloquence, ſeem to me to carry with them an Air of Affectation. They are generally common Places that have no Relation to the Hiſtory. Perhaps this Author had ſome Pieces of Reſerve, which he employed upon Occaſion, as *Cicero* uſed to do. That Method may be proper for an Orator,

tor, who ſpeaks often in Public; but ſuch Precaution is not allowable in an Hiſtorian, who is ſuppoſed to be Maſter of himſelf and of his Time. Among the *Latins*, *Salluſt* has a noble Expreſſion, a true Wit, and an admirable Judgment. No Perſon ever imitated ſo well the judicious, exact, and ſevere Style of *Thucydides*. He is ſometimes ſtiff in his Expreſſions, but he never flags; his Conciſeneſs makes him now and then obſcure, his Manners are always true, and he gives Weight to all that he ſays. His Sentiments are always fine, though his Morals were bad; for he continually declaims againſt Vice, and ſpeaks in favour of Virtue.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* SALLUST.

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CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, the Son of *Lucius Julius Cæſar* and *Aurelia*, was deſcended on the Father's Side from *Iülus* the Son of *Æneas*; on the Mother's, from *Ancus Martius*. He was born at *Rome*, during the Conſulate of *C. Marius* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, on the Twelfth of *July*, about ninety Years before the Nativity of Chriſt. His Genius proved him worthy the Deſcent; for notwithſtanding the Difficulties of a narrow Fortune; his Abilities raiſed him to that ſtupendous Height, which few have attempted, none arrived at.

HE was contracted, whilſt a Boy, to *Coſſutia*, a Lady whoſe Family, though far from the meaneſt, was not adequate to her Riches: What Reaſons induced him to repudiate her, and take *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Cinna* in her Stead, I do not find. But this Action, *Suetonius* informs us, increaſed the Hatred *Sylla* bore him on Account of his Affinity to *Marius*, who married his Aunt. At ſixteen he loſt his Father, and the next Conſulate put up to be *Flamen Dialis*, or High-Prieſt of *Jupiter*; whether he obtained it or no, Authors differ. *Suetonius* affirms he did; *Plutarch* ſays otherwiſe, whoſe Opinion is much the more probable: for *Sylla*, having then the ſupreme Power

Power in his Hands, might with leſs Trouble have prevented *Cæſar*'s being choſen, than turn him out of the Pontificate after he had once gained it by the Suffrages of the People. It is agreed on all Hands this Election had like to have proved fatal to him, for his early Ambition rouſed the Dictator's Jealouſies; the Preſages he made of him are very remarkable. You conſider not, ſays he to the Perſons who petitioned him for *Cæſar*'s Life, and urged the Innocency of his Youth, that many *Mariuſes* are in that Boy.

THUS *Cæſar*, though labouring under the Misfortune of a Quartan Ague, was obliged to hide among the *Sabines*, and change his Lodging every Night; yet his utmoſt Caution could not prevent his falling in ſometimes with the Dictator's Parties. Such was the Courſe of *Cæſar*'s Life, till at length *Sylla* yielding to the repeated Inſtances of *Mamercus Æmilius*, *Aurelius Cotta*, and the Veſtal Virgins, vouchſafed him a Pardon, though not without the utmoſt Reluctance. Take, ſaid he, the fatal Gift you ſo earneſtly deſire; but remember, I have foretold you, he will one day prove the Ruin of our Party. This Conceſſion, in a manner extorted from *Sylla*, *Cæſar* judged no ſufficient Security for his Perſon; wherefore, ſo long as the other was in Power, he continued at as great a diſtance from *Rome* as poſſible. He ſerved as a Volunteer in *Aſia*, under *Thermus* the Prætor, who ſent him to *Bithynia* for the Fleet; where he contracted a Friendſhip with King *Nicomedes*. Returning from thence, he behaved himſelf ſo well at the Siege of *Mitylene*, he obtained a *Civic* Crown;

nor

nor did he give leſs Proof of his Courage, when under the Command of *Servilius Iſauricus* in *Sicily*, the Time he remained there, which was very ſhort. For, on Advice that *Sylla*'s Intereſt declined, he quitted the Camp; but inſtead of returning to *Rome*, as his Friends deſired, took a Voyage to *Rhodes*, where with *Cicero* he became a Hearer of *Apollonius*, *Molon*'s Son, a great Rhetorician, deſigning to render himſelf equally famous at the Bar as in the Field. In this Study he made no indifferent Progreſs, and we may eaſily conclude from the maſculine and polite Style of his Commentaries, collated with that admirable Speech on *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, recorded by *Saluſt*, that he might have rivalled *Tully*, had not more important Reaſons changed the Lawyer for the Stateſman, the Orator for the General; Arts before as incompatible as Empire and Liberty, but united in *Cæſar*.

IN his Paſſage to *Rhodes* he was taken by the Pirates who infeſted thoſe Seas, who offered him his Liberty for twenty Talents; but thinking that Sum too ſmall, he added of his own accord thirty more. Deſpatching Meſſengers to raiſe the Money, he remained their Priſoner forty Days till it came, attended only by his Phyſician and two Servants. During his Stay amongſt them, as an Argument of his Unconcern, he frequently employed his Time in making Verſes and Orations, obliged them to be his Auditors; and if their Want of Judgment, or Ill-nature gave him not the Praiſes he deſerved, would threaten in jeſt to crucify them: which he afterwards performed in earneſt, though then it

only paſſed for Raillery and the Effect of juvenile Heat.

THE firſt Proof he gave of his Excellence in Speaking, was when he accuſed *Dolabella* of Mal-Adminiſtration in *Greece*; but loſt more by the Enemies he made on that Occaſion than he gained by the Applauſe. His ſecond Attempt indeed, againſt *Publius Antonius* for Bribery, was more ſucceſsful: he engaged in this Affair to oblige the *Grecians*, and urged the Matter ſo home before *M. Lucullus*, Prætor of *Macedonia*, that the Defendant was glad to appeal to the Tribunes at *Rome*.

CÆSAR all this while lived far more ſplendidly than his Patrimony would admit, contracted many Debts, owed thirteen hundred Talents before he obtained any public Office; and his Enemies, not reflecting to how great Advantage he beſtowed his Money, did not deſcry the Politician through the Prodigal. Still, in vain, they expected when his Credit ſhould ſink, till he had diſcharged the moſt honourable Employment in the State, and effectually gained his Point, by eſtabliſhing a Character for the moſt generous, and public ſpirited Nobleman in *Rome*.

THE firſt Trial he made of his Intereſt, was, when he ſtood with *C. Popilius* for a military Tribunate, and carried it. Some Time after he was choſen Quæſtor; but that Year he had the Misfortue to loſe his Aunt *Julia*, and Wife *Cornelia*. It had always been the Cuſtom, to make Orations on the Deceaſe of grave Matrons, but never on young Women; *Cæſar* however took this Opportunity to ſhew the Affection he had for his departed Lady, and ſo well was he beloved

beloved by the People, they looked upon the Innovation as the Effect of his Tenderneſs and Good-nature. But making the Harangue in Honour of his Aunt's Memory, he produced the Images of her Huſband *Marius*, which nobody had ever the Hardineſs to do, ſince the Adminiſtration came into *Sylla*'s Hands, who declared *Marius*'s Party Enemies to the State; a politic, bold and happy Attempt! for by this Means he revived their drooping Hopes, and made himſelf Head of that Faction. But *Cæſar* knew the Poſture of Affairs was ſomething changed, he therefore thought that he might ſafely venture to do his Uncle that Juſtice, which he afterwards did his Enemy; for when the Civil Wars were concluded, thinking it ſufficient Revenge to have conquered, he was ſo far from triumphing over the Misfortunes of his Rival, he reſtored thoſe Trophies the People had demoliſhed. Upon which Occaſion *Cicero* was heard to ſay, *Cæſar* by ſetting up *Pompey*'s Statues had eſtabliſhed his own.

BEING now about twenty-four Years of Age, he began to enter upon Action; and the farther *Spain* was the Theatre, where he attended the Prætor *Fotus*, and acquitted himſelf with Succeſs. But, beholding the Statue of *Alexander* the Great in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Gales*, (whither he went by the Prætor's Command to hold a Convention of the States) he was ſeized with an extraordinary Melancholy, reflecting what an unactive Life he had hitherto led, whereas that noble *Grecian* at his Age had ſubdued many Nations. After his Return from *Spain* he married *Pompeia*, leſs renowned for Virtue

Virtue than Beauty, witneſs her Intrigue with *Clodius*; all *Cæſar*'s Accompliſhments which enſlaved the World, were not ſufficient to fix the roving Inclinations of a Woman; nay, ſo imprudent were her Deſires, ſhe muſt needs appoint her Gallant an Interview at her own Palace, when (*Cæſar* being Prætor) ſhe and all the *Roman Ladies* were celebrating thoſe ſacred Rites to the *Bona Dea*, where Men were never permitted to be preſent. *Clodius* however was detected and complained of, not only as an Adulterer, but a Profaner of the Holy Ceremonies; and *Cæſar* thought it high Time at once to be rid of his Wife and the Scandal: Yet being ſummoned as a Witneſs againſt *Clodius*, he ſaid, he had nothing to alledge againſt him. Why, then, ſaid the Proſecutors, have you diſmiſſed *Pompeia? Becauſe*, replied he, *I would not have my Wife even ſuſpected.* Thus *Cæſar* was divorced, and *Clodius* acquitted.

FINDING his Generoſity turned to ſo good Account, he ſtill continued to give Proofs of it on all Occaſions. Being elected Ædile, his Magnificence ſo far excelled his Collegues, that the whole Honour redounded only to *Cæſar*, whilſt *Bibulus* ſhared the ſame Fate with *Pollux*, the other with *Caſtor*, by whoſe Name alone the Temple in the *Forum* was called, dedicated to both the Twin-Brothers.

EVERY Day increaſed the Affection of the People, and *Cæſar* relying on their Favour offered himſelf as Candidate for the extraordinary Government of *Egypt*, becauſe the *Alexandrians* had expelled their King. He wanted not Suf-

ſrages, but *Ptolemy* having formerly been honoured by the Senate with the Name of *Friend*, now found Protection from his Allies. This was the firſt Diſappointment he met with, nor did this diſcourage him from ſtanding ſoon after for the Pontificate, which became void by the Death of *Metellus*. *Catullus* and *Iſauricus*, both Perſons of great Intereſt in the Senate, were his Competitors; the former dreading the Loſs of his Honour, privately ſent *Cæſar* a conſiderable Offer to deſiſt, for he had not much to apprehend from *Iſauricus*; but he gave him to underſtand he would himſelf expend a much larger Sum to carry the Election. When the Time appointed for the Choice was come, leaving the Houſe, he told his Mother ſhe ſhould either ſee him High-Prieſt that Day, or baniſhed. Thus, probably, had he miſſed of his Office, his future Hopes had been for ever daſhed; but Fortune had no Mind to diſoblige the Man for whom ſhe had already ordained ſo much Buſineſs; ſhe therefore decided the Cauſe in his Favour by a vaſt Majority of Votes.

WHEN *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy broke out, *Cæſar* was Prætor. The Queſtion being put, what ſhould be done with *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the reſt of their Faction, after many Senators had voted for putting them to Death, he ſtood up and delivered an Oration in their Favour, which had a ſtrange Effect upon the Audience; till the ſevere *Cato*, tranſported with Zeal for the Commonwealth, made a virulent Speech, and inſinuated him to be a Party to the Plot, which effectually turned the Scale. Whether *Cæſar* was really concerned in this Affair, or *Cato*'s Suſpi-

cions were falſe, has furniſhed the World with Matter of Diſpute, and will for ever remain undetermined.

He found himſelf as much hated by the Nobility as beloved by the Commons; for which Reaſon he countenanced the Tribune *Metellus*, when he preferred Laws in favour of the latter; and therefore the Senate deprived him of the Prætorſhip, but reſtored it again, and returned him Thanks, when they found he modeſtly declined doing himſelf Juſtice by that Force which the People offered him.

His Præture ended, *Cæſar* was choſen Governor of the farther *Spain*. His Creditors, who were very numerous, murmured at his leaving *Rome* before they were paid; wherefore, to ſatisfy the moſt importunate, he got *Craſſus* to be engaged for him, as far as eight hundred and thirty Talents; then purſued his intended Journey. Paſſing by a ſmall Village on the *Alps*, inhabited by a few miſerable Wretches, his Friends in jeſt demanded, whether he thought the People had any Diſputes for Offices, or Feuds about Elections there! No, replied *Cæſar*; but I aſſure you, I would rather be the firſt in this obſcure Town, than the ſecond Man at *Rome*. They tell you likewiſe, as a farther Inſtance of his Ambition, he uſed frequently to repeat two Verſes of *Euripides*, to this Purport.

Nam ſi Violandum eſt Jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum eſt; aliis rebus Pietatem colas.

If Juſtice is to be violated, it is to be violated for Empire. In all other Things you may regard Piety.

Yet

YET even the ſage *Plutarch* agrees, *Cæſar* would have been content with an Equal, *Pompey* would not.

ARRIVING in *Spain*, he ſoon raiſed a conſiderable Army, reduced *Portugal* and *Gallicia*, then puſhing his Succeſs, advanced higher, and carried his Arms as far that Way as the Ocean would permit. When the Year expired he returned to *Rome*, where he entered as a private Perſon, and with *Bibulus* was choſen Conſul. The great Triumvirs were now agreed, and *Cæſar* marrying his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, and being ſupported both by him and *Craſſus*, he was equal to either of them; and had not the latter's untimely Death in *Parthia* left the other two the ſole Diſputants for the ſupreme Power, thoſe Wars which coſt *Rome* ſo much Bloodſhed would never have happened.

THUS *Cæſar* having by the Intereſt of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, notwithſtanding *Bibulus* oppoſed him, paſſed ſuch Edicts as made him more popular than before, and diſcharged the Office of Conſul much to his own Satisfaction, obtained the Government of *Illyricum*, and both the Provinces of *Gaul*, where *Plutarch* informs us in nine Years Time he took five hundred Towns by Storm, conquered three hundred States, engaged three Millions of Men at ſeveral Times, killed one third and took another captive. But for a farther Account of his glorious Exploits in that Country, of his Actions in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Greece*, *Alexandria*, *Aſia*, *Afric*, you muſt conſult his Commentaries. Let it ſuffice to obſerve here, that ſo long as *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*'s Daughter *Julia* lived, *Pompey* and he were in perfect Friend-

Friendſhip; the greateſt Men at *Rome* made their court to him; *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, *Appius* the Prætor of *Sardinia*, and *Nepos* Proconſul of *Spain*, at once attended him at *Lucca*, where one hundred and twenty Lictors, and above two hundred Senators were preſent. In ſhort, the Management of Affairs at *Rome* was wholly decided by theſe three powerful Men. But when *Craſſus* died, *Cæſar* and *Pompey* quarreled, and the Civil Wars began.

How much Induſtry, Conduct and Courage, how much Mercy he ſhewed to his Enemies, and how well he was beloved by his own Soldiers, his excellent Memoirs abundantly teſtify. But his Power ſoon became the Object of Envy, and the People enjoying Peace, and having Leiſure to reflect how laviſh they had been of their Favours to him, reſolved to humble him; this could not be done without an Aſſaſſination; Inſtruments were quickly found, and *Brutus* became Leader of this Faction. The Senate-Houſe was the Place where this Tragedy was acted, many were the Accomplices, and *Cæſar* having received three and twenty Wounds, expired. He fell on the fifteenth of *March*, in the fifty-ſixth Year of his Age, having only ſurvived his Rival four, and founded the *Roman* Empire by his own Blood; for after his Deceaſe the Commonwealth became an abſolute Monarchy, the conſtant Fate of ill-governed Republics. He triumphed five ſeveral Times over *Egypt*, *Pontus*, *Afric*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, and being declared perpetual Dictator, he rewarded thoſe who had well deſerved from his Friendſhip, and promoted ſome of his Enemies. He had only the ſingle Failing of Ambition to prove

him mortal, yet aſſuming ſupreme Authority, was no more than what the Safety of his Perſon required; for otherwiſe it would have fallen into *Pompey*'s Hands, and then the Conſequence muſt have proved fatal to *Cæſar*; but the greateſt Uſe he made of Power was to pardon thoſe who offended him: Many were the Honours decreed his Memory, and his Name was the Title of eleven ſucceeding Emperors.

THE Name of *Julius Cæſar* is ſo illuſtrious, that nothing can be added to the Commendation of his Works, of what Nature ſoever they are, after it is ſaid he is the Author of them. So that he is not indebted to his military Actions alone for the high Reputation that follows him, ſince his Learning has no leſs contributed to it than his Arms; which made *Quintilian* ſay, that *Cæſar* ſpoke, writ, and fought with the ſame Spirit, *Eodem animo dixit quo bellavit*; and that the ſame happy Genius which favoured all his Victories, animated even his Orations and Writings. He wrote like a Man of Quality, and among innumerable Excellencies which he holds in common with other Authors, he poſſeſſes this almoſt peculiar to himſelf, that you ſee the Prince and the Gentleman, as well as the Soldier and Scholar in his Memoirs. He had a vaſt Genius, and univerſal Learning, was noble by Birth, a conſummate Stateſman, a brave and wiſe General, and a moſt heroic Prince. His Prudence and Modeſty in ſpeaking of himſelf, the Truth and Perſpicuity of his Deſcriptions, the inimitable Purity and Elegance of his Style, diſtinguiſh him with Advantage from all other Writers. What uſeful *and entertaining* Accounts might reaſonably be

expected

expected from one who gives you the Geography and Hiſtory of thoſe Countries and Nations which he himſelf conquered, and the Deſcriptions of thoſe military Engines, Bridges, and Encampments, which he himſelf contrived and marked out? It is obſervable, that among the Praiſes which the Ancients gave to the Orators of that Time, though they valued much the Acuteneſs of *Sulpitius*, the Gravity of *Brutus*, the Diligence of *Pollio*, the Judgment of *Calvus*, and the Copiouſneſs of *Cicero*, they admired above all the Vigour of *Cæſar*'s Style, *Vim Cæſaris*, as if the ſame Virtue by which he executed ſo many military Exploits, had inſpired him with that Ardour and Vehemence by which he was always ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of that Age.

In his early Youth he compoſed *The Praiſe of* Hercules, and wrote the Tragedy of *Oedipus*, and ſome other Poems under the Title of *Julii*, which *Auguſtus* afterwards forbid to be publiſhed; it is impoſſible to determine what the Poem was, called *Iter* by *Suetonius*; but as for that Epigram which ſome aſcribe to him, and others to *Germanicus*, made upon the young *Thracian* who fell into the River *Hebrus*, it is one of the moſt delicate Pieces of all *Latin* Poetry, and I think cannot be tranſlated.

Thrax puer aſtricto Glacie dum ludit in Hebro,
Frigore concretas pondere rupit Aquas.
Dumque imæ partes rapido traherentur ab amne,
Abſcidit heu tenerum lubrica teſta caput.
Orba quod inventum mater dum conderet Urna,
Hoc peperi flammis, cætera, dixit, Aquis.

HIS Fame in Oratory was indiſputable, but his Orations for the *Bithynians*, for the Law *Plautia*, for *Decius* a *Samnite*, for *Sextilius*, and many others are loſt. His two *Anti-Catones* ſhewed what he could do in Satire, and his two Books of *Analogy* gave him no ſmall Place among the moſt eſteemed Grammarians. He wrote ſome Treatiſes of preſaging by the Flight of Birds, and others of Augury, and ſome of Apophthegms, or ſhort and witty Sentences. But what he publiſhed of the Motion of the Stars, which he had learned in *Egypt*, deſerves much more to be conſidered, becauſe it prognoſticated his own Death on the Ides of *March*, (if the elder *Pliny* may be credited:) we muſt not omit the *Ephemerides*, or Journals mentioned by *Servius*, nor the Reformation of the *Kalendar*.

THE Title of thoſe *Commentaries* alone make it manifeſt that *Cæſar* had no Deſign to write a compleat Hiſtory; they are ſo naked, ſays *Cicero*, and diveſted of all thoſe Ornaments of Oration, which he was very capable of giving them, that, though they are extremely agreeable in the Condition they are, they are to be taken for nothing elſe but Notes prepared by him for their Uſe who would compile a Hiſtory of his Time; and though Materials ſo well provided might have excited ſome Perſons, raſh enough to attempt any Thing, to try their Skill to refine and poliſh them, yet all judicious Men have abſtained from doing it; and others that perhaps endeavoured it, have found themſelves altogether unable and unlikely to gain to themſelves any Honour, by meddling with a Deſign framed by ſo great an Artiſt. Yet *Suetonius* makes *Aſinius Pollio* accuſe *him of* not having been exact enough, and even

to

to have deviated ſometimes from Truth, ſo that as the ſaid *Aſinius* conjectures, he would have reviewed his Commentaries, and corrected them in many Places.

SOME Critics have maintained, that neither the three Books of the Civil War, nor the ſeven of the War of the *Gauls* were written by *Cæſar*; but ſuch an Opinion is ſo groundleſs, that it merits not the leaſt Reflection. As for the eighth Book of the laſt mentioned Work, moſt agree that *Hirtius* was the Author of it, who wrote alſo the Commentaries of the Wars of *Alexandria*, *Africa*, and *Spain*. Though ſome aſcribe them to *Oppius*, an intimate Friend of *Cæſar*, who likewiſe wrote a Treatiſe to prove that the Son of *Cleopatra*, whom ſhe pretended to have had by the ſame *Cæſar*, was not his child. *Pliny* the Elder, ſpeaking of the wonderful Abilities of this learned *Roman*, obſerves that he ſurpaſſed the whole World in the Vigour of his Mind, that he has been ſeen at the ſame Time to read, write, dictate, and hear what was ſaid to him; and adds, that it was common with him to dictate at once to four Secretaries; and when he was not diverted by other Affairs, he uſually employed ſeven to write under him. This Activity of Thought is as if he were ſomething more than human, and indeed the Greatneſs of his Genius would be judged wholly incomparable, ſhould we imagine it exactly in the Extent of all his Actions. His Writings have been ſo juſtly eſteemed, that *Selim* the Great cauſed them to be tranſlated into *Arabic*; and it is believed that the reading of them, which was no leſs agreeable than an ordinary Exerciſe with him, contri-

buted much to the Conqueſt of ſo many Provinces, with which he augmented the *Ottoman* Empire. *Henry* IV. the famous Monarch of *France*, tranſlated into *French* what related to the War of the *Gauls*, which doubtleſs gave no ſmall Aſſiſtance to that heroic Ardour with which this Prince was ſo eminently inſpired.

XENOPHON, ſays *Rapin*, has a ſoft and delicate Way of writing; his Diſcourſe, like a pure and clear Stream, has no Parallel in all the Works of the Antients, except *Cæſar*'s Style, than which nothing was ever written with greater Purity in *Latin*. I am charmed with his Plainneſs, and can find no Writer that expreſſes himſelf with the ſame Perſpicuity. But *Cæſar*, as plain as he is, has ſomething more noble and lofty in the Perſpicuity and Simplicity of his Diſcourſe, than *Tacitus* in all the Pomp and Statelineſs of his Expreſſion. And we meet ſometimes with a Negligence in the Antients, better than all the Accuracy and Exactneſs of the Moderns. *Cæſar*'s Narrative is admirable by its Purity and Eloquence, but it is not lively enough, and wants a little of that Force which he uſed to deſire in *Terence*. One cannot be ſaid to write Hiſtory who barely relates the Actions of Men, without ſpeaking of their Motives; but he is rather like a Gazetteer, who is contented to acquaint us with Facts, without tracing them to their Spring and Cauſe: Juſt as *Cæſar*, who relates ſimply his Marches and Incampments, without acquainting us with the Motives of them. All his Narration is too plain and naked, however it may be ſaid of him, he only writes Memoirs. *Cæſar* has an Extreme intirely oppoſite to *Tacitus*.

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In him you find but a plain ſimple Style, without Tropes and Figures, and deſtitute of all Ornament. Nothing is ſo tedious as a Deſcription too particular and minute, which Fault *Cæſar* incurs in his Commentaries: When he decribes his warlike Machines, it ſeems as if that great Captain, whoſe Reputation in the military Science is ſo well eſtabliſhed, had alſo a mind to gain that of a good Engineer. There is in this a certain Air of Affectation unworthy ſo great a Man. In regard to Harangues *Polybius* is more judicious than *Demoſthenes*; but *Cæſar* is more cautious ſtill, for he ſeldom makes any of theſe Speeches, becauſe they do not conſiſt with the Truth of Hiſtory, and chuſes rather to write ſimple Memoirs, that his Diſcourſe may be more plain. *Cæſar* was one of the greateſt Maſters of Expreſſion. Pedants are in the right, when they admire the inimitable Purity of his Style, but I admire more his good Senſe; for never did any Man write with ſo much Diſcretion, and he is perhaps the only Author in whom we find no Impertinence. He ſpeaks of himſelf as an indifferent Perſon, and is ever conſtant in the wiſe Character he has aſſumed to himſelf.

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MARCUS

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

MARCUS Tullius Cicero was by his Mother *Helvia* deſcended from a Family of Diſtinction, but as to his Father, ſome make him a *Fuller*, others deduce his Pedigree from the Family of *Tullius Atticus*, King of the *Volſci*. The Name of *Cicero* coming from the Figure of a *Vetch* on the Noſe of his Anceſtors or of his own, he was perſuaded to change it; but he replied, he would make that Name more glorious than thoſe of the *Scauri* and *Catulli*.

IT is ſaid his Mother experienced no Pain in her Delivery, that a Dæmon or Phantaſm appeared to his Nurſe, and foretold her, that the Child at her Breaſt would hereafter be beneficial to his Country. He ſoon gave conſpicuous Tokens of the Prediction; for on his Application to Study, he ſoon excelled all the Boys who were his Schoolfellows, ſo that Men of very conſiderable Diſtinction came to the School, to obſerve and admire the uncommon Splendor of his Genius; capable of all Science, he chiefly diſcovered a Propenſity to Poetry, publiſhing a Poem when a Boy which is yet extant, and called *Pontius*, or *Pontius Glaucus*. He made an uncommon Progreſs in Rhetoric and Eloquence. The Credit of his Poetry is loſt in the ſuperior Reputation of his Succeſſors in this Art.

HE heard *Philo* in Philoſophy, and appli *Mutius Scævola* in State Affairs, and the Kn ledge of the Law; but to avoid the Troub a factious Time, he retired to his Studies, to a learned but private Converſation, *Sylla* had uſurped the Commonwealth, and l ters found a Kind of Settlement under About this Time *Sylla*, by *Cryſogonus* his ex cipated Slave, proſecuted *Sextus Roſcius Amer* for Parricide, and when all the elder Patro Advocates had refuſed to defend him, undertook the Cauſe, and argued it with Eloquence and Intrepidity, that *Roſcius* acquitted.

BUT being ſenſible that the Applauſe he ed by this excited *Sylla*'s Hatred, he travelle *Greece*, and retired to *Athens*, as he prete for the Sake of his Health. Here he ap himſelf intirely to the Study of Philoſophy made ſuch a Progreſs as gained him uni Applauſe.

THE News of *Sylla*'s Death, the Recov his Health, and the Perſuaſion of a Friend vailed with him to return to *Rome*, and the Study of Rhetoric as proper for a State perpetually exerciſing himſelf in Declama and hearing the moſt celebrated Orators Time. From *Athens* he went to *Aſia* and *R* where he declaimed in *Greek*, at the De *Apollonius*, ſo admirably, that while all th were tranſported with his Praiſe, *Apollonius* ing ſat ſilently a while, made this Rep *Cicero*, aſking his Opinion: That he ad him, but pitied the Fate of *Greece*, to fin and Eloquence, which was all that wa

her, now wrested from her, and transported to *Rome*.

BEING returned to *Rome*, the *Pythian* Oracle, who had declared that he should arrive at Glory, by making his own Judgment the Guide of his Actions, not the Opinion of the People, made him negligent of public Affairs, and the Concerns of the Bar; but being overcome by the Importunity of his Father and Friends, he at once shone forth the greatest Orator of his Time. He was obliged to *Roscius* the Comedian, and *Æsopus* the Tragedian for forming his Action, which afterwards was so excellent, that it did not a little contribute to the Persuasiveness of his Harangues.

BEING Questor in *Sicily*, in a great Scarcity of Corn in *Rome*, he relieved the Wants of the City, by obliging all the *Sicilians* to vend all their Stock in *Rome*. Which with the Administration of his Province with Care, Justice, Clemency, and general Satisfaction, made him imagine that he established an universal Character; so that meeting an Acquaintance of his in *Campania*, he asked him what the People said of his Actions in *Rome? Why*, replied the other, *where have you been all this while?* This checked his Vain-glory, and abated his Passion for public Applause in some Measure, though never extinguished his Love of hearing himself praised.

HE was so industrious to obtain the Qualities necessary for a Statesman, that he not only knew the Names, but the Places of Abode, the Lands and Country Seats which the principal Citizens enjoyed. The *Sicilians* made choice of him for

their Advocate againſt *Verres*, whom having caſt and fined, the People of *Sicily* made him great Preſents when he was Ædile, which he turned to the public, not to his own private Account.

HE had a pleaſant Seat at *Arpinum*, a Farm near *Naples*, and another about *Pompeii*. His Wife *Terentia*'s Portion was twelve Myriads, and his own Fortune nine, on which he lived freely and temperately rarely ſitting down to Dinner till Sunſet. His paternal Seat he gave his Brother, and dwelt himſelf near Mount *Palatine*, for the Convenience of his numerous Clients; not fewer applying to him for his Eloquence, than to *Craſſus* for his Riches, or *Pompey* for his Intereſt among the Soldiers; that great General paying him a Deference, and owing much of his Authority and Glory to him. He carried the Prætorſhip from all the Candidates who ſtood with him, and diſcharged it with Honour and Applauſe. When he ſtood for the Conſulſhip, both the Nobility and Commons joined in his Election.

AMONG other Things which he did in his Conſulate, the Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, and the Suppreſſion of it by the Puniſhment of the Conſpirators, was the moſt conſiderable, for which he had the Title of *Father of his Country*, and was called the *Saviour and Founder of the City*. For by the Detection of this Plot, he delivered his Country from Deſolation by Fire and Sword, whence he derived great Authority with the Senate and with the People.

THOUGH he was too much addicted to ſelf-commendation, yet he was far from envying others,

others, being very liberal in applauding both the Ancients and his Contemporaries *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Cæſar* being one of the Prætors, and *Metellus* and *Beſtia*, two of the Tribunes, offered him all the Indignities they could, by hindering him from ſpeaking his Orations at the Surrender of his Conſulſhip, and would have affronted him more, if *Cato*, one of the Tribunes, had not ſtood by him, and prevented their Attempts. His ſharp Reflections, Repartees, and Jeſts upon the People, had made him ſome Enemies, but none could hurt him till the Faction of *Clodius* prevailed. *Clodius* had been of *Cicero*'s Party, and very uſeful to him in the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*; but *Terentia*, *Cicero*'s Wife, ſuppoſing that *Clodia* the Siſter of *Clodius* had a mind to marry *Cicero*, prevailed with him to give Evidence againſt him when proſecuted for violating the Rites of the *Bona Dea* in *Cæſar*'s Houſe, for the ſake of *Pompeia*, *Cæſar*'s Wife, with whom *Clodius* was enamoured. He urged ſtrongly in his Defence, that he was out of *Rome*; but *Cicero* proved that he was at his Houſe that very Morning. However, by Bribes *Clodius* was acquitted, and reſolved to diſcharge all his Rage and Rancour againſt *Cicero*, being choſen Tribune of the People, though of the Patrician Order, for he was of a great Family. He bribed the Conſuls, by giving them good Provinces, as *Macedonia* to *Piſo*, and *Syria* to *Gabinius*; and of three great and powerful Men, *Craſſus* was his Enemy, *Cæſar* was going with his Army into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* indifferently careſſed both; but when *Cicero* had enraged *Cæſar*, by refuſing to go his Lieutenant, as he himſelf had deſired,

Pompey

Pompey on his Account would neither aid nor ſee *Cicero*, when he came to his Houſe to apply for his Aſſiſtance.

THUS *Clodius* preferred an Accuſation againſt him, for putting *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to Death illegally, for which *Cicero* put on Mourning and ſupplicated the People; and with him joined almoſt all the Equeſtrian Order, twenty thouſand young Gentlemen appearing for and with him in Mourning; *Clodius* at the Head of a ſcandalous Rabble abuſing him, and throwing Stones at him. The Senate themſelves met to paſs a Decree that the People ſhould put on Mourning, as in a Time of public Calamity, but were hindered by the Conſuls.

AT laſt, by the Advice of his Friends, *Cicero* went out of *Rome*, guarded by them, about Midnight, and paſſed through *Lucania* on Foot, deſigning to go to *Sicily*. *Clodius* no ſooner heard of his Flight, but he publiſhed a Decree of Exile, interdicting him Fire and Water, and prohibiting any within five hundred Miles of *Rome* to receive him into their Houſes. He paſſed at laſt by Sea to *Dyrrhachium*, and then into *Greece*. This factious Tribune having thus driven *Cicero* out of *Italy*, burnt his Villas and City Houſe, building in its Place a Temple to *Liberty*, and expoſed his Goods to Sale; and not contented with theſe Outrages, he fell upon *Pompey*, who now repented that he had deſerted *Cicero* ſo ungratefully, and therefore exerted his utmoſt Intereſt to have him recalled from Baniſhment. *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, joining with him, they demoliſhed *Clodius*, and paſſed a Decree of the Senate and of the People for

for recalling him, it being the moſt unanimous of any they had ever paſſed. His Villas and Houſe were rebuilt at the public Charge, and he was reſtored ſixteen Months after he was ſent into Exile.

CICERO after this went to the Capitol, and deſtroyed the Tribunitian Records of the Acts paſſed in the Tribunate of *Clodius*, as being againſt the Law, ſince he was of the Patrician Order. Soon after *Milo* killed *Clodius*, and being to be tried for it, choſe *Cicero* for his Advocate, who being intimidated at the Forum's being ſurrounded with Arms, *Milo* himſelf encouraged him. He was found guilty, but his appearing ſo confident, and without Mourning, was one of the principal Cauſes of his Condemnation. He was after this made one of the Augurs, and having *Cilicia* by Lot, he ſailed thither with a competent Force, and governed with Clemency and Moderation, and among other Actions which gained him Applauſe, he drove out the Bands of Robbers who infeſted the Mountain *Amanus*, for which his Soldiers ſaluted him *Imperator*.

LEAVING his Province, he touched at *Rhodes*, ſtaid a little at *Athens*, ſaw his old Friends, and then returned to *Rome*, where being offered a Triumph, he refuſed it; but Things were now in a dreadful Commotion, and coming to an open Rupture, he interpoſed as Mediator between *Pompey* and *Cæſar* as much as Circumſtances permitted him, but the Wounds being incurable, and *Cæſar* approaching *Rome*, after great Conflict with himſelf which Side he ſhould take, he followed *Pompey*, with the Senators and

and great Men who were with him, *Cæſar* being now gone into *Spain*. He was welcome to all but *Cato*, who adviſed him to remain neuter, and govern himſelf by the Event of Things, for the Good of the Commonwealth.

AFTER the Battle of *Pharſalia*, in which *Cicero* on Account of his Indiſpoſition was not preſent, he returned from *Dyrrhachium* to *Brunduſium*, having very narrowly ſaved his Life from the Sword of young *Pompey* and his Friends, for refuſing to join their Army. *Cato* preſerved him at this Time, and ſaw him ſafe out of the Camp. *Cæſar* coming at laſt from *Egypt*, he went out to meet him, received from him all imaginable Honour, and converſed alone with him for many Furlongs. When *Cæſar* had reſolved not to pardon *Ligarius*, he went to hear what *Cicero* could ſay for him; though he declared nothing could mollify his Reſentment, yet when he heard him, he dropped his Papers, and vowed that he was vanquiſhed by his Eloquence.

THE Republic being now changed into a Monarchy, *Cicero* applied himſelf wholly to Philoſophy, publiſhing many philoſophical Dialogues, and finding out *Latin* Terms of Art for thoſe of the *Greeks*. He ſpent all his Time at his Villa near *Tuſculum*, ſeldom going to Town, unleſs to pay his Court to *Cæſar*, for whoſe Honours he was the firſt who voted, framing always new Compliments and Eulogies of his Perſon and Actions. He formed a Deſign of writing the Hiſtory of his Country, intermingling the Affairs of *Greece* both real and fabulous, but was prevented by public or domeſtic Troubles. *Terentia* had not only neglected him, and never came

came near him at *Brundusium*, but had not furniſhed his Daughter with neceſſary Expences for her Journey to him, had left him an empty Houſe and involved him in Debt, for which Conſiderations he repudiated her. But *Cicero* not long after married a beautiful young Lady with a great Fortune, which relieved him from the Importunity of his Creditors. This was ſoon ſucceeded by the Loſs of his Daughter in Childbed, which produced ſo great a Grief in him, that all his philoſophical Friends conjoined to remove his Sorrow, and adminiſter Comfort to him.

He was not concerned in the Conſpiracy againſt *Julius Cæſar*, though he was ſo great a Confident with *Brutus*, his Old Age and timorous Temper deterring them from admitting him into the Secret. After the Aſſaſſination, he propoſed in the Senate an Act of Oblivion, and that Provinces ſhould be allotted to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; but *Anthony* being Conſul, and burying *Cæſar*, made ſuch a Speech to the People, and ſo touched their Compaſſion, by ſhewing them the bloody Garments of *Cæſar*, that they mutinied, and ran to the Houſes of the Conſpirators, who having fled, *Anthony* was ſo elated, as to form Thoughts of aſſuming the Government; he was therefore uneaſy at *Cicero*, whom he looked upon as a Friend to *Brutus*, and Liberty. He would therefore have gone with *Dolabella* to *Syria*, but *Hirtius* and *Panſa* being appointed Conſuls the next Year, prevailed with him to make an Excurſion to *Athens*, where he ſaid he would ſtay till their Conſulate began; but

but again over-perſuaded by his Friends, he returned to *Rome*, and was ſo received by the People and Senate, that the Ceremonies of his Welcome at the City Gates took up almoſt a whole Day.

OCTAVIUS coming to *Rome* from *Apollonia*, and quarreling with *Anthony* about the Legacy left him by *Julius*, applied to *Cicero* upon this Occaſion, who eſpouſed his Cauſe againſt *Anthony*, and he inſinuated himſelf ſo far into young *Cæſar*'s Affections, that he called him *Father*. The Power of *Cicero* being now at the higheſt, he had driven *Anthony* out of *Rome*; but *Octavius* ſoon after united with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, and by a Proſcription he moſt barbarouſly and ungratefully gave up *Cicero* to *Anthony*, though it is ſaid he contended three Days to preſerve him.

CICERO heared of his Proſcription at his Houſe near *Tuſculum*, his Brother *Quintus* being with him; they immediately repaired to a Country Houſe of *Cicero*, near the Sea, called *Aſtura*, but Proviſions being defective, it was agreed that *Quintus* ſhould go back for Neceſſaries, and *Cicero* go on. *Quintus*, a few Days after, being betrayed by his Servants, was ſlain; and *Cicero* being carried to *Aſtura*, and finding a Veſſel ready, went immediately on board, and having ſailed as far as *Circium*, he came on Shore, and travelled a little Way toward *Rome*; then he turned back to the Sea, and his Servants carried him to *Capua* by Water; when arriving at his Villa, his Servants reſolved not to ſee him murdered, and for that Purpoſe carried him away again

again in his Litter; but the Aſſaſſins being arrived, and having broken open his Doors and miſſed him, no body owned they knew any Thing of him, till *Philologus*, the emancipated Slave of *Quintus*, who was educated by *Cicero* in the liberal Arts and Sciences, told *Herennius* the Centurion, and *Popilius* the Tribune, whom *Cicero* had defended from an Accuſation of Parricide, that he was gone down the ſhady Road to the Sea. The Tribune watching with the Guard the Place where he was to come out, *Cicero* perceiving him running to the Walks after him, commanded his Servants to ſet down the Litter; he looked ſtedfaſtly on the Murderer; all beſides covered their Faces. *Herennius* cut off his Head and Hands, which he carried to *Anthony*, who received them with an inſulting Smile, and ordered them to be faſtened over the *Roſtrum*, where he had pronounced his *Philippics* againſt him.

THE Merit and Character of *Cicero* are ſo tranſcendent, that all the learned Men of Antiquity have looked upon him as a Prodigy. This great Orator had the Benefit and Advantage of an excellent Education. His Parents having diſcovered in him a natural Inclination to Study, took an extraordinary Tuition of him; but tho' at thoſe early Years, when other Children are not capable of applying themſelves to any Thing, he ſhewed an extreme Deſire to learn, yet his Father thought it moſt adviſeable rather to retard than accelerate his Progreſs, at which *Cicero* ſeemed not a little diſſatisfied, eſpecially when he ſaw ſome of his Companions ſtudy under one *Plotius*, a Maſter then in great Reputation. His Father

Father however was much to be commend this Reſtraint, well knowing that too ear Application to Study, by endeavouring to the Underſtanding before the Seaſon, weaken Nature, but will never bring her t fection.

HIS Father and beſt Friends were of Op that the *Greek* Language was the fitteſt young Man to begin with, and therefore him firſt enter upon the Study of it. All great Maſters who came to *Rome* betwee Time of *M. Scævola*'s Conſulſhip, and th of *Sylla*'s Dictatorſhip, were his Præcepto *Phædrus* whom he commends ſo much i Epiſtles; *Philo* the Academic, whom he tions in his Book *De Natura Deorum*: *Mol Rhodian*, whoſe Eloquence was very celeb and under whom he ſtudied at two ſeveral T and a certain *Sicilian* called *Diodotus*, a Geometrician, of whom he learned Logic, whom he ſpeaks of in his *Tuſculan* Queſ Thus at the Age of ſeventeen or eighteen Y he had run through with incredible Exped the almoſt infinite Extent of all the Sci which might be any way uſeful to him in ing himſelf Maſter of Eloquence, which paſſionately affected.

As ſoon as he had conquered the Diffic of the *Greek* Tongue, he applied himſelf t try, to which he had an early and ſtrong nation; at ſeventeen Years of Age, in or accompliſh himſelf in Aſtronomy, he tran the Poem of *Aratus*, of which we have ſome ſiderable Fragments ſtill left. He tranſlated wiſe not long afterwards *Plato*'s *Timæus*,

Prota

Protagoras, the *Oeconomics* of *Xenophon*, and ſeveral other Pieces: *Plutarch* tells us, that from his very firſt Years he diſcovered a ſingular Genius for all the Sciences, ſuch as *Plato* requires in the Philoſopher the Idea of whom he contemplates, who ought to be, ſays he, a Lover of all Kinds of Knowledge. It was after this Manner *Cicero* ſpent his Time till he was twenty-ſix Years of Age, at which Period he began to ſpeak in public. All the moſt celebrated Lawyers fearing to offend *Sylla*, had refuſed to undertake *Roſcius*'s Cauſe, who was accuſed of Parricide; the Succeſs of this Action was the firſt Step to his future Glory, but it made too much Noiſe not to be regarded by *Sylla* with a jealous Eye, and by *Chryſogonus* with meditated Revenge; for this Freedman, who had made himſelf Maſter of him who was Maſter of the Commonwealth, brought upon *Cicero*, by the ill Offices he did him, a Perſecution which ended not till the Dictator's Death.

BEING forced to leave *Rome* to avoid the Storm he ſaw ready to break upon him, he artfully ſpread abroad a Rumour that he did it upon the Advice of his Phyſicians, who told him that Travelling would contribute to his Health. He retired to *Athens*, where he applied himſelf again to the Study of Eloquence, and received new Inſtructions in that Art from a certain *Syrian* Orator named *Demetrius*. This ardent Deſire after Knowledge ſtimulated him a little while after, to travel into *Aſia*, to be there inſtructed by the moſt famous Men in every Science; among whom was *Menippus* of *Caria*, the beſt Orator of his Time, *Æſchylus* of *Cnydus*, *Dionyſius*

ius of *Magneſia*, *Xenocles*, *Poſſidonius*, and ſome others. About the ſame Time he met with *Apolonius Molo* in *Rhodes*, who had formerly been his Maſter in *Italy*. In this Voyage he learnt Aſtronomy, Geometry, the old and new Philoſophy, the Theology of the heathen Religion, the Cuſtoms of *Athens*, and the Laws of *Greece*. He ſtudied the Morality of the Stoics under *Philo* and *Clitomachus*. *Antiochus*, who in defiance to *Carneades*, oppoſed the new Academics, inſtructed him in the Opinions of the Antients, and *Zeno* and *Phædrus* taught him thoſe of *Epicurus*, which he has ſince ſo much condemned in his Writings. At laſt, after the Death of *Sylla*, he returned to *Rome*, with a Mind enriched with all ſorts of Knowledge, and a Body reſtored to perfect Health, by the Exerciſe he had uſed in travelling.

THE Advantage that conſiſts in the Agreeableneſs of an Orator's Perſon, and of his Dreſs, one would imagine to be very inconſiderable, and yet they are certainly of very great Importance. *Cicero* had the Happineſs of a graceful Countenance, a good Voice, a pleaſing Addreſs, a commanding Preſence, and a genteel Mien in every reſpect; *Plutarch* aſſures us, that he was ſo amiable in his tender Years, that the Fathers of thoſe he ſtudied with, took a Delight in ſeeing him at School. He was very neat in his Attire, and ſtudied Dreſs, even to Affectation. He loved Perfumes, and a genteel Table, and as he was very pleaſant in Converſation, he delighted in Entertainments, and was always very agreeable Company with his Friends. His Raillery was fine and delicate, and he managed

all his Buſineſs with ſuch an Addreſs, that in the moſt ſerious Conſultations he would frequently mingle ſo much of light Converſation as was enough to refreſh the Mind, without diverting it from what it was intent upon. This is the proper Character of that *Urbanity* of which he gives us the Precepts in his Treatiſe *De Oratore*. And though it be ſomewhat difficult at this Diſtance to judge of the Wit he there propoſes for our Imitation, in ſeveral Examples of the fine Turn of Words, yet it is certain that he himſelf excelled in it, ſince *Cato*, as grave, and as much a Stoic as he was, after having heard *Cicero* ridicule the Morality of the Stoics, in that Oration for his Friend *Muræna*, could not forbear laughing, and ſaying, *I muſt needs confeſs we have a very pleaſant Conſul.*

CICERO was liberal even to Exceſs, but he did not affect to ſpend Money upon Things that made a great Noiſe in the World. All his Expences were great, and upon noble Accounts, and proceeded more from his Temper and Diſpoſition, than from any politic Deſign he had in them. He is reckoned to have had eighteen Country Seats, all very magnificent, ſtately built, and ſplendidly furniſhed; indeed he was not Maſter of ſo many Houſes at once; the chief of them were the *Tuſculane*, the *Formian*, that at *Caietta*, that at *Arpinas*, the *Pompeian*, and that he had near *Cumæ*. Neither was it ſo much out of Pride that he affected this Pomp, though it muſt be confeſſed he was a little vain as from a Greatneſs of Soul which ſought the Eſteem of a People that was far from having an Averſion to any Thing that was ſumptuous,

ſo

ſo it were ſupported by Wealth honeſtly obtained.

NEVER was any Perſon born in a more happy Time for Eloquence than *Cicero*; he came into the World when the *Roman* Empire was in its flouriſhing State, when Knowledge was come to its Perfection, and in an Age the moſt refined and poliſhed in the Annals of the World. Nature began with adorning his Body with all thoſe Graces that could make him lovely, and with furniſhing his Mind with all thoſe natural Qualities that were proper to render him an extraordinary Perſon. His Melancholy, which, according to *Ariſtotle*, is the common Characteriſtic of great Geniuſes, had nothing in it that was dull or heavy, and what is very unuſual, there was never any one ſingle Perſon that was Maſter of ſo much ſolid Reaſon, and had ſo much Vigour and Vivacity at the ſame Time. Thoſe vaſt Stores of Knowledge, and thoſe immenſe Treaſures of Learning with which he had with ſo much Care and Labour repleniſhed his Mind, added Weight and Authority to all he ſpoke, and made him deliver himſelf with all the Solidity that can be imagined.

BUT beſides this Solidity, which includes ſo much Senſe and Prudence, he had a certain Sprightlineſs of Wit, a peculiar Grace which gave an Embelliſhment to all he ſaid, ſo that whatever was the Product of his Imagination and Fancy, he gave it a fine Turn, and made it appear in the moſt agreeable Colours. Whatever he treated, whether it were the moſt abſtruſe Queſtions of *Logic*, the moſt barren Parts of natural Philoſophy, or the moſt perplexed in-

tricate Caſes of the Law, whatever came within the Compaſs of his Diſcourſe, though ever ſo involved, did ſtill ſhare of that Vivacity of Spirit, and of thoſe Graces that were ſo natural to him. Never had any one the Talent of Writing ſo judiciouſly, and ſo agreeably at the ſame Time; never any one yet poſſeſſed the Art of mixing ſo much good Senſe, and ſo much good Wit together.

AFTER all, the principal Perfection of his Eloquence was his admirable Talent of affecting the Heart upon pathetic Subjects, by that wonderful Art of moving the Paſſions, the Ground and Foundation of which he derived from Nature, and which he ſo well improved by a conſtant Study of *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetoric. *Cicero* was Maſter of this commanding Eloquence in ſo eminent a Degree, that in Caſes of Importance, when ſeveral Orators were to plead, he had always thoſe Parts aſſigned him in which he might be moſt pathetic, becauſe he had greater Succeſs in that Kind than all others of his Profeſſion. It was his ſovereign Perfection to command the Paſſions, and to make Impreſſions upon the Minds of his Judges by the irreſiſtible Powers of his Eloquence. In this he had ſuch wonderful Succeſs, that ſometimes he would force Sighs and Tears from all who ſtood round the Bar. Theſe ſtrange Effects proceeded from a ſingular Art he had of inſinuating himſelf into the Heart through the Mind, where by the Force of his Reaſonings he was able to ſow thoſe Seeds, from whence thoſe ardent Motions ſprang which he made uſe of to ſhake the Reſolutions of all that heard him.

THAT he arrived at this Height of Perfection was principally owing to the Qualities of his natural Temper and Diſpoſition; for he had a very tender Soul, and a ſoft impaſſioned Air. The Graces of his Delivery and Pronunciation gave him a very eaſy Admiſſion into the Hearts of his Audience, who finding themſelves ſurprized by ſo many Charms, had not Power to make Reſiſtance. But to all theſe natural Beauties, he likewiſe added an infinite Number of artificial ones, which he diſplayed throughout his whole Diſcourſe by an Eloquence embelliſhed with all the Figures and Ornaments of Speech. Yet his Metaphors are neither too ſplendid, nor too harſh; his Diſcourſes run eaſily and naturally, neither forced nor foreign, his Figures are arranged and diſpoſed in their proper Places. His Thoughts are great, and it is hard to determine whether he is more happy in chuſing or expreſſing them.

IT would be impoſſible in this Epitome to tranſcribe the Opinions of all the Men of Learning upon the Eloquence and Character of this admirable Orator. *Julius Cæſar*, as *Quintilian* relates, ſaid, that *Cicero* triumphed oftener by virtue of his Eloquence, than all the reſt of the *Romans* by their Arms. *Auguſtus* in *Plutarch* declares he was a perfect Orator; *Hortenſius* teſtifies, that he was wonderfully qualified to move the Hearts of his Audience. His Eloquence, ſays *Aufidius Baſſus*, was ſo extraordinary, that he ſeemed born for the Safety and Preſervation of the Commonwealth. *Livy*, in a Fragment of his which we find in *Seneca*'s Declamations, ſays, that never any Perſon had gained

gained ſo much Admiration by his Eloquence as *Cicero*, that he was happy in his Works, and in the Recompence and the Reward of them; *Paterculus*, that no one could be a Maſter of Eloquence in Perfection but he that had been converſant with *Cicero*; *Pliny* the Hiſtorian, that no Mortal can be compared to him; *Quintilian*, among many other Commendations of him with which his Books are replete, declares, that this great Man was a Gift from Heaven, in whom Eloquence took a Delight to diſplay all her Powers, and to unfold all her Riches, and that it was a Shame not to yield when he perſuaded. I mention not that famous Epigram which *Catullus* made in praiſe of *Cicero*'s Eloquence, nor what *Juvenal* ſays in commendation of him in his eighth Satire, *Martial* in the third and fifth Book of his Epigrams, *Cornelius Severus* in his Poem, *Pliny* the younger in his Epiſtles, St. *Jerom* in his Epiſtles to *Nepotian*, and in many other Places of his Works. I ſhall paſs over in ſilence the Eulogies of *Aurelius Victor*, *Caſſiodorus*, and an infinite Number of others, who have done themſelves immortal Honour by the Praiſes they have beſtowed upon this great and wonderful Man.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* CICERO.

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CORNELIUS NEPOS.

CORNELIUS NEPOS has enjoyed the good Fortune to pleaſe the moſt judicious Critics of all Ages; but in this is ſtrangely unhappy; that after being ſo induſtrious in immortalizing other Men, and having written a particular Volume of the Lives of Hiſtorians, he himſelf has been almoſt forgotten; and we have very little left us concerning him. To add to the Misfortune, his excellent Treatiſe of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, which is the only one left us of his numerous Writings, has by ſome very injudicious Critics been attributed to an obſcure Perſon, one *Æmilius Probus*, who lived in the barbarous Age of *Theodoſius*.

He flouriſhed before and after *Cæſar*'s Dictatorſhip. *Jerom* places him in the fourth Year of *Auguſtus*. He was born at *Hoſtilia*, a Village depending upon *Verona*, of which *Pliny* and *Antonine* in his Itinerary make Mention; and is at this Day ſubject to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of *Verona*. The City lies near the *Po*, upon which Account *Pliny* calls our Author *Padi Accola*. It is ſituated likewiſe in that Part of *Italy*, which the *Romans* called *Italia Tranſpadana*, that Part of *Italy* which is on the other Side the *Po*; ſo that *Catullus*, in his Dedication of his excellent Poems to *Cornelius Nepos*, might

very juſtly call him an *Italian*. But becauſe the ſame Country was called *Gallia Togata*, or that Part of *Gaul* wherein the *Toga* was worn, in Oppoſition to *Gallia Braccata*, ſo named from the Dreſs of the barbarous Inhabitants; *Auſonius*, alluding to *Catullus*'s Epigram, tells his Friend *Pacutus*, That he had found a more learned and obliging Patron, than *Gaul* furniſhed *Catullus* with; but theſe two Poets may be eaſily reconciled, conſidering that the ſame Place was, in different Reſpects, reckoned Part both of *Gaul* and *Italy*. Now, that *Nepos* was a *Veroneſe*, was the conſtant Opinion of that City, where, in the Senate-Houſe, his Statue was erected among thoſe of the illuſtrious Men born there. *Verona* has indeed produced as great Wits and as learned Men in all Faculties, as any City, perhaps, in the World. Here were born the two *Plinys*, *Macer* the Botanic Poet, *Vitruvius* the Architect; and in later Times that Prodigy of Wit and Learning *Hieronymus Fracaſtorius*, the beſt Phyſician, Mathematician and Poet of his Age.

As *Nepos* was born in a Place famous for polite Learning, ſo likewiſe in an Age when Genius and Elegance of Style were advanced to their utmoſt Perfection; in that Age which the Critics call *The Golden Age of Eloquence*. Now, to be conſiderable in ſuch a Time as this, to be infinitely eſteemed and careſſed by the greateſt Perſons in it, is an infallible Argument of the real Excellence of an Author. *Gellius* ſtyles him *Cicero*'s Friend, and Familiar; and there was a conſtant Intercourſe of Letters between them. *Catullus*, the moſt accurate and elegant Epigram-

Epigrammatiſt that ever wrote, dedicated his Poems to him. *Suetonius*, in his Life of *Julius Cæſar*, takes Notice of a Letter from *Cicero* to *Nepos*; and *Lactantius* quotes an Epiſtle of *Nepos* to *Tully*: their Epiſtolary Commerce was ſo great, that *Macrobius* makes Mention of a ſecond Book of Epiſtles from *Tully* to *Nepos*. His Intimacy with *Atticus*, is evident from the Life of *Atticus*, annexed to his Lives of excellent Generals; for *Atticus* himſelf was ſo far from being one, that he never engaged in the Civil Wars either for *Cæſar* or *Pompey*, and yet had the good Fortune, which I believe very few of that Diſpoſition ever experienced, to be honoured, eſteemed and unmoleſted, through the whole Courſe of his Life.

He left many learned and curious Works behind him, of which the Injury of Time hath deprived us; and we have only juſt enough left us to ſee the Greatneſs of our Loſs in the reſt. He was Author of a Book which he called his *Chronicle*, wherein (in three diſtinct Volumes) he gave an Account of thoſe three great Intervals of Time, which Hiſtorians ſo much talk of: The *Obſcure*, the *Fabulous*, and the *Hiſtorical* Ages of the World. As to the firſt and ſecond, *Tertullian* informs us, that *Nepos* affirms, there never was any *Saturn*, but what was a Man; and *Auſonius* tells his Pupil the Emperor, that he ſent him *Titianus*'s Fables and *Nepos*'s Chronicles, which were not much unlike them. And *Catullus*, in his Preface to his Poems, tells us, that *Nepos*, did *Omne Ævum* tribus *explicare Chartis*.

BESIDES this great Work, he wrote the Lives of illuſtrious Men; of which twenty-two, which reſpect the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, are tranſmitted to us; and likewiſe the Lives of the *Roman* Heroes (as is evident from his Life of *Hannibal*) and the *Roman* Kings. But through the Invaſion of foreign Nations, and the Ignorance and Careleſſneſs of ſuperſtitious Monks, who ſuffered them to lie and rot unobſerved in their Libraries, we have only their Titles from other Authors who have had the good Fortune to ſurvive. *Æmilius Probus* hath, by ſome Critics, been ſuppoſed to be the Author of the Lives of Foreign Generals; but it is an egregious Miſtake, occaſioned by an Epigram prefixed to ſome ancient Manuſcripts of this Author; wherein *Probus* commands his Book, if the Emperor *Theodoſius* enquire after the Author, to tell him it is one *Probus*; but then it follows, *Corpore in hoc manus eſt Genetricis Avique meique*; that is, his own Hand, his Mother's and Grandfather's were concerned in this Work: Whence it is clear, beyond Contradiction, that this *Probus* was only a Tranſcriber. Beſides, what Man of common Learning and Senſe can perſuade himſelf, that this wretched Poet could be the Author of this moſt elegant and judicious Piece of Hiſtory? The Claſſical Purity and Terſeneſs of the Expreſſion undeniably prove, that the Author of this Book lived in the Age of *Julius* and *Auguſtus*; and beſides all this, there are forty Places in the Lives themſelves, that prove *Nepos* to be the Author, and that he lived in the Age aforeſaid; for which conſult *Lambin*.

BUT

BUT *Nepos* hath not been more abuſed by aſcribing his Works to other Men, than in making him the Author of ſome Pieces wholly unworthy of him. The Book of *eminent Romans* is falſely aſcribed to him; it is *Aurelius Victor*'s. Many Things, I doubt not, were taken out of *Nepos* by *Victor*. Nor was *Dares Phrygius* tranſlated from the *Greek* by *Nepos*. The Spuriouſneſs of this Author is viſible to any one who has any Judgment in Literature. The Diction is not *Auguſtan*, but of a much more modern Date. *Nepos*, in the Judgment of ſome Men, lived after the *Nativity* of Chriſt; but if it be conſidered how celebrated he was for his Learning in the Days of *Catullus*, *Cicero* and *Atticus*, there will be no great Reaſon to adopt this Opinion.

CORNELIUS NEPOS lived in an Age that had the greateſt Learning and the correcteſt Taſte of any ſince the Creation. Eloquence did not then conſiſt in the gaudy Attire of Metaphors, or the forced Acuteneſs of a conciſe affected Period; but good Senſe naturally and neatly expreſſed, was the Language *Auguſtus* and his Court encouraged. Our Author cannot indeed pretend to the Politeneſs of *Cicero*, but yet he has nothing but what is manly and ſtrong; and there runs through his Writings an agreeable Vein of ſpeaking unaffectedly, which declares him a Man removed above the Pedant or *Plebeian*. It muſt be confeſſed, he is now and then rough in his Periods, and negligent in his Expreſſions, but the judicious *Quintilian* allows this to be ſometimes a Beauty; and it is the Opinion of moſt Critics, that if there be any Fault in *Tully* himſelf, it is that he is too

formal and ſyſtematic in his Style. There are ſome Faces that are very exact in the Symmetry of their Parts and the Mixture of Colour, and yet they are not pleaſing; while on the other hand there are others in which Nature ſeems to have made bold and agreeable Miſtakes. Eloquence is only the Beauty of Language, in which a too formal Obſervance of Exactneſs is diſguſting. There is as much Difference between the elegant Practice of Rhetoric and the heavy Regularity that ariſes purely from an Attention to its Rules, as there is between the genteel Addreſs of a Gentleman and the aukward Compliment of a School-maſter. Such is the Style of *Cornelius Nepos*, which has eſtabliſhed him in the favour of the beſt Judges.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* CORN. NEPOS.

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TITUS

TITUS LIVIUS.

POSTERITY has had little Information as to the Particulars of *Livy*'s Life; whether he was of a ſtudious Diſpoſition, and deſtined by Nature to live in Silence and Obſcurity: certain it is we know very little of his Birth, his Employment, his Actions, or the Condition of his Life in general. Only thus much, that he was of *Padua*; contrary to *Sigonius*'s Opinion, who would have him born near the Town called *Apona*, producing for this the pretended Teſtimony of *Martial* in one of his Epigrams. It is plain too, he was of an illuſtrious Family, ſince it had the Honour of ſending out Conſuls to the *Roman* Commonwealth. That he lived under the Empire of *Auguſtus*; that he dedicated ſome Dialogues to him, upon the Queſtions debated in thoſe Times relating to Philoſophy, whereby he acquired that Emperor's Familiarity and good Opinion; that he afterwards wrote a Treatiſe of Eloquence to his Son, which *Quintilian* greatly valued; that he began his Hiſtory at *Rome* for the Convenience of inſpecting ſuch Memorials as were neceſſary, which were recorded in the Annals in the Capitol, and for better diſtinguiſhing Truth from fabulous Traditions, with which the Hiſtory of the firſt Age of the City of *Rome* abounded; that he retired ſome Time

after to *Naples*, to avoid Diſturbance in his Study; that he recited to *Auguſtus* and *Mecænas* ſome Parts of his Hiſtory, by which they were highly gratified; that *Auguſtus*, on the Eſteem he conceived of him, made Choice of him for a Tutor to form the Mind of young *Claudius*, who was afterwards Emperor.

AFTER the Death of *Auguſtus* he returned to *Padua*, where the Citizens received him with extraordinary Honours. He died in the fourth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, and the very Day of the Calends of *January*, which was the laſt of *Ovid*'s Life, according to the Obſervation of *Euſebius* in his Chronicle. His Abode at *Rome*, and the Favour of *Auguſtus*, gave him an Opportunity of furniſhing himſelf with Knowledge neceſſary to his Deſign. The Zeal for his Undertaking, which was great and extraordinary, no leſs than an Univerſal Hiſtory of the *Roman* Empire, ſo fixed him in literary Retirement, and gave him ſo little Anxiety for the private Concernments of his own Fortune, that his Life thereby became ſomewhat obſcure; ſince he was obliged to ſequeſter himſelf from a more public Converſation, and live retired, that he might devote himſelf wholly to the grand Work he had in Hand. He muſt needs have had a Soul prodigiouſly great, to form the Project of ſo vaſt and laborious an Enterprize; for whatever Genius a Man has, it is only a Greatneſs of Spirit can produce thoſe exalted and generous Sentiments which form the Beauty and Excellency of a noble Work.

LIVY was certainly one of the worthieſt Men of all Antiquity; you would conclude from his

his Mode of ſpeaking, that he knew not what Vanity was. He has not only never ſpoken of himſelf, nor any Thing relating to himſelf in his Hiſtory; but likewiſe we had been ignorant in what Time he written, had it not been for a Word that by Chance eſcaped him, concerning the Temple of *Janus*, which was *now* ſhut, ſays he, by *Auguſtus*, having been ſo but once before ſince the Reign of *Numa*. He begins his Hiſtory in a Strain of Modeſty, which ſeems to me ſo admirable, that I cannot believe a diſcreeter Author ever appeared in the World. "I am uncertain, whether the Hiſtory I write "of the Actions of the *Roman* People ſince the "Foundation of *Rome*, will be a Work worth "any Conſideration; and though I were per-"ſuaded of it, I durſt not aver it, for it is a "Matter, *&c.*" The reſt of the *Exordium*, which I need not copy, ſince it is in the Hands of all Men, correſponds to the Beginning, and is ſufficient to ſhew the amiable Spirit of the Author.

His Sincerity likewiſe underwent the ſevereſt Trial that poſſibly could aſſail it without being corrupted. The Reputation he was in with *Auguſtus*, and that Favour to which he had advanced him, were not Motives ſufficient to hinder his ſpeaking honourably, not only of *Pompey*, but alſo of *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, the greateſt Enemies of that Emperor; honouring the Memory of the Conquered in the Face, as one may ſay, of the Conqueror; and recommending to the World, as honeſt Men, the Murderers of *Cæſar* in the Preſence of *Auguſtus*, becauſe they were Lovers of their own Country. It is this which

which *Cremutius Cordus* thought impoſſible to be ſufficiently applauded in *Livy*, as we are aſſured by *Tacitus*. Such was *Livy* for his moral Accompliſhments, and what reſpects his Character; and it ſeems that ſomething had been wanting to the Glory, or rather the Good-fortune of a People that was Maſter of the World, had they not produced ſo great a Man for their Hiſtorian. It is this which doubtleſs occaſioned that famous Inſcription found at *Padua*, in the Year One thouſand Four hundred and Thirteen, in the Church of St. *Juſtina*. *Oſſa* Titi Livii Patavini, *omnium Mortalium Judicio digni, cujus propè invicto Calamo, invicti Populi Romani res geſtæ conſcriberentur.*

THE *Roman* Hiſtory of *Livy* was publiſhed when *Auguſtus* was living, and is ſuppoſed to have employed the Hiſtorian twenty Years or more, in completing it. The original Number of Books were an hundred and forty-two. There are only thirty-five left. An Epitome of this Hiſtory, from which we learn the Number of the original Books, is extant, except the Abridgment of the hundred and thirty-ſixth and the hundred and thirty-ſeventh Book. It has been thought, this Epitome has contributed much to the Loſs of the Original. *Glareanus*, and others, have divided the Original into fourteen *Decades*; that is, one hundred and forty Books. The firſt *Decade*, ſays *Glareanus*, treats of the Affairs of four hundred and ſixty Years. The ſecond *Decade* is loſt: The Years of this *Decade* are ſeventy-five. The third *Decade* contains the ſecond *Punic* War under *Hannibal*, including eighteen Years. The fourth *Decade* contains the

the *Macedonian* War againſt *Philip*, and the *Aſiatic* War againſt *Antiochus*; which includes the Space of about twenty-three Years. The firſt five Books of the fifth *Decade* were found at *Worms*, in the Year Fourteen hundred and Thirty-one. Theſe are all the Books remaining of *Livy*'s Hiſtory. The thirty-third Book was found at *Mentz*, but defective in the Beginning; as appears from the Epitome, and what follows in *Livy*. The five Books of the fifth *Decade* are very defective. *Eraſmus* tells us, the Archetype was written in ſuch a continued Series of Letters as the Ancients uſed to write it, that it required a learned, attentive and ſkilful Perſon to ſeparate the Words from each other; and he obſerves this half *Decade* is certainly *Livy*'s from the Diction and Epitome to which it exactly correſponds.

PETRUS CRINITUS will not allow *Livy*'s Hiſtory to be divided by *Livy* into ſo many *Decades*, ſince nothing of this can be gathered from the Ancients. *Priſcian* and other Grammarians in their Quotations of *Livy*, mention the Books, but ſay nothing of the Decades. Nor does the Number of the Books agree with the Diviſion; for fourteen Decades make but one hundred and forty Books, whereas *Petrarch* aſſerts, *Livy* wrote one hundred and forty-two. *Cælius Rhodiginus*, and other Men of Learning, admit of the Decades; becauſe there is a Preface prefixed to every Decade. The third Decade is reckoned the moſt excellent of all the Hiſtory, which gives us an Account of a very long and ſevere War, in which the *Romans* gained ſo many Advantages that no Arms could afterwards withſtand

withſtand them. The firſt Book of this D
is copied almoſt Word for Word from *Pol*
and mentions many Things in the Hiſt
this War with *Hannibal*, which are ſuſp
as not mentioned by *Polybius*, who gives us
ter Account than *Livy* of the *Roman* milita
fairs. In the firſt Book of the *Macedonian*
he is much more exact than *Livy*, in ſpeci
the Names of the Perſons who acted; in g
us a particular Account of the Siege of *A*
and in all the Series of this Hiſtory it is ev
that *Livy* has tranſlated many Paſſages
for Word from *Polybius*. The Beginning
Hiſtory is too general. From the Deſtru
of *Troy* to the Rebuilding of *Lavinium*, ar
koned two Years; from the Building of
nium to *Alba*, thirty Years; from *Alba* to
four hundred Years; from the Building of
to the Conſuls, two hundred and forty
Years: So that from the taking of *Troy*
Beginning of the Conſulate, which is the
ject of *Livy*'s firſt Book, are ſix hundred a
venty-ſix Years. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeu*
learnedly and accurately diſcuſſed this Per
four Books. It was not therefore *Livy*'s I
to give us a particular Explication of the
ancient *Roman* Tranſactions, which many
torians had done long before, but rather to
what was tranſacted by the *Romans* a little
the ſecond *Punic* War, to his own Times
left his Hiſtory ſhould be incompleat i
Beginning, he very conciſely treats of the
Affairs in the firſt twenty Books; from the
dation of *Rome*, to the ſecond *Punic* War.
nyſius, who purpoſed to write the Antiquit

Rome, has omitted nothing he thought deſerved Relation: He has not only preſented us with the Facts, but the exact Time in which they happened; and what *Livy* has comprehended in three Books, he has diffuſed in eleven. As to *Livy*'s Facts, which are ſuſpected, it is thought they are taken from *Fabius Pictor*, an old Hiſtoriographer. This Account includes the moſt material Circumſtances that relate to the Hiſtory of this noble Writer.

PERHAPS never Man came furniſhed with better Abilities, or thoſe more improved, to the Writing of Hiſtory, than *Livy*. He was formed in a City at that Time the Empreſs of the World, in which all the moſt important Affairs of the Univerſe were decided, and in the politeſt Age that ever exiſted; having had ſcarce any other School than the Court of *Auguſtus*. There it was he learned the Language of the moſt poliſhed and accompliſhed of Mankind; and that lively, elegant Air then in faſhion; that exquiſite Taſte, that Purity and Sublimity of Expreſſion, which was the Characteriſtic of that Age, and of which there were ſuch great Models in every Species of Writing. Thence it was he acquired that Softneſs neceſſary to pleaſe, and that Force which renders him affective; wherein peculiarly conſiſts his eſſential Character. For never Man united all the Grace and Beauty with all the Vehemence of Diſcourſe, ſo much as he; ſo much does the Sweetneſs of Style temper the maſculine Force and Energy of what he ſays, that there falls not any Thing from his Pen too ſtrong, but is ſoftened with a Term that is elegant and delicate.

THE

THE Sublimity of *Livy*'s Expreſſion tranſports a Man's Soul into Extaſy; it is about two thouſand Years ſince this Hiſtorian wrote, yet he ſtill commands a reſpectful Attention from all Nations, by his awful and majeſtic Mode of Speaking, which has been the Admiration of all Ages. In fine, nothing ſatisfies my Mind ſo well, as his admirable Choice of Words, always proportioned to his Sentiments, and his excellent Manner of expreſſing his Sentiments, always conformably to the Things he ſpeaks of. He has attained the beſt of any Man that ſort of Style, which *Cicero* adviſes Hiſtorians to acquire; and it is (ſays *Rapin*) by this great Pattern that *Buchanan*, *Mariana*, *Paulus Æmilius*, *Paulus Jovius*, and all that have outlived the Times they flouriſhed in, have formed their Method of writing Hiſtory. *Livy* has a moſt engaging Way of delivering a Narrative, owing to his admirable Skill of mixing little Things with great ones; becauſe great Events by themſelves are tireſome and fatiguing, whereas ſmall Adventures are pleaſant, and relieve the Mind. According to the ſame Scheme he varies the Tranſactions he relates, makes ſad Occurrences ſucceed thoſe that are pleaſant, and mingles very diſcreetly the bright with the obſcure, that he may keep up the Reader's Attention by this agreeable Variety.

THIS Writer had a natural Felicity of Mind adapted to all Things elegant and great, wherein he had a very refined Taſte. He had an admirable Genius for Eloquence in general, that is, for Purity of Diſcourſe, for Elegance of Diction, for Dignity of Expreſſion, and a certain Elevation

Elevation of Soul, that made him moſt fortunate in his Imagination. He was, to complete theſe Qualifications, choice in his Words, juſt in the Arrangement of his Periods, great in his Sentiments, and the univerſal Œconomy of his Deſign. He was, in ſhort, Maſter of all the Rhetoric of Hiſtory; for Hiſtory has a peculiar Rhetoric of its own; and this Rhetoric has its Rules. *Quintilian* ſays, his Style is ſweet and flowing, that is, has more of Solidity, than Luſtre, and is moſt pleaſing to thoſe who had rather be affected, than dazzled and amazed. His Air is great and noble in its Simplicity, and he has a Softneſs of Expreſſion, ever ſupported with much Force and Majeſty. His Diſcourſe is animated in ſo lively a Manner, as ſuffers nothing to droop or languiſh. And the Turn, the Cadency, the Grace he gives to all he ſays, the Juſtneſs of his Words, the Clearneſs of his Senſe, every Thing he exhibits before us is admirable. Perhaps there never was Hiſtorian more engaging by the Talent he had of expreſſing Nature and giving her a different Face and Form as became her ſeveral Situations, painting her always in her proper Colours, making every Paſſion ſpeak its genuine Language, that it might have its full Effect upon the Mind. Hence it is he is ſo incomparable in painting the Manners, that his Portraitures are ſo like, that he dreſſes every Thing in the Features that become it, never confounding thoſe Beauties which Nature has diſtinguiſhingly marked.

He eminently exceeds the reſt of Hiſtorians in the perfect Knowledge he has of Decorum, which is a Science indiſpenſably neceſſary to

a Man

a Man that will write Hiſtory, ſince nothing carries the Appearance of Truth, but what correſponds to an exact Obſervation of what is agreeable to each Particular. See how he diſtinguiſhes the different Ages of the Commonwealth, by the Difference of Spirit and Manners that reigned in it. It is by this Principle *Hannibal* and *Scipio* preſerve their Characters ſo well in this Author, where nothing is touched in the ſame Manner, or written in the ſame Tenour. Hence it is that *Rome* could ſpeak otherways under Kings and Tribunes, than in the Reigns of the laſt Conſuls and Emperors; that every one in this Hiſtory ſtands marked in a diſtinguiſhing Character. His Diſcourſe has Authority when it inſtructs, it has Sweetneſs and Condeſcenſion when it perſuades, Neatneſs when it relates, is Graceful and Elegant when it would pleaſe; is Fervent, Nervous and Pathetic, when it would affect: He is Moral and Inſtructive where it is requiſite, giving Leſſons to the whol World, and at the ſame Time ſeeming to do nc thing leſs.

THE Length of his Periods, which many a apt to blame, is in my Judgment one of l greateſt Advantages; it is this only that rend him Majeſtic; for a long and ample Style ne wants Majeſty, when it it is, like his, ſupp ed with good Senſe, and by an exquiſite Ch of Words. After all, the World has never l able to diſcern his Method; he has a ſecret couched under a ſeeming Plainneſs and Sir city, which makes him appear Natural thrc out his Work. He is particularly ſure to tiſe this Art, in that which ſeems to have it

per

pendance moſt on Nature, carefully ſhunning all Manner of Affectation, and ſtudying always to be ſimple. It is by this ſtately yet familiar Way, which is the moſt uſual Ornament of his Diſcourſe, that he ſtrikes the Soul with thoſe wonderful Impreſſions, that he ſhakes and agitates it as he pleaſes, that his Sentiments break in upon you through the Force of his Words (the Strength of which he very well underſtood) and that he always moves thoſe whom he is addreſſing, by the natural Energy of his Expreſſion. This Quality renders him as vehement in his great Paſſions, as ſoft and agreeable in the leſs, giving the former a more active and lively Air, and the latter a gentle and tender Strain. Indeed the Genius he had for Sublimity of Expreſſion, and the Art he had to manage it ſo dextrouſly, and employ it upon Occaſion, accuſtomed him to raiſe his Style upon any great Event. It was here he took a ſort of literary Pride, to exhibit, as one may ſay, and ſhew the moſt rare and concealed Riches of his Soul in their full Capacity. What Draughts, what Paintings does he then give you, when the Greatneſs of his Theme at once excites him, and furniſhes him with thoſe admirable Opportunities of which he knew how to make the beſt uſe? And it is in theſe favourable and naturally lofty Topics, that he raiſes and ennobles his Diſcourſe by thoſe great Ideas, with which his excellent Genius for the ſublime and majeſtic Style inſpires him, which is his very Character. It is, in fine, by the natural and proper Choice of Words, the moſt in uſe, but the moſt ſplendid and harmonious, which add a Luſtre to all the other Beauties of Diſ-

courſe;

courſe; that he excites in the Mind of his Readers an Admiration mingled with Surpriſe, which is quite a different Thing from the Pleaſure that ariſes from Perſuaſion only.

THE Encomiums beſtowed upon *Livy* are almoſt infinite; *Ludovicus Vives* exhibits this Character of him: Variety has not rendered *Livy* confuſed, nor the Simplicity of his Hiſtory tedious; in little and low Matters which often happen, he is not inſipid and jejune, and in Plenty and Greatneſs he is not turgid and vaſt, being full without ſwelling, equal and ſoft, on this Side Effeminacy, neither luxuriouſly flowing, nor diſagreeably barren; in plain Things he is not unpleaſant nor languid, in ſoft Things he does not riſe in a violent and forced Oratory; yet he is not ſo copious as to be irkſome, nor ſo light as to be careleſs. His Words are equal to his Matter, and his Sentiments to his Subject; he is grave and magnificent in his Account of Actions, and yet conciſe and proper; in Narrations he is natural, and always circumſpect, never confounding the Order, nor anticipating the Event; he is no Seeker of Favour by Flattery, or ſparing in his Reprehenſions in Expectation of a Pardon, nor yet bitter to an Offence; he never ſpares the Senate, that great and venerable Moderator of the World, nor the *Roman* People, the Sovereigns of the Earth, if precipitated by Raſhneſs, or deceived by Error, or by any other Means, whenſoever they happen to tranſgreſs the Bounds of Moderation and Juſtice.

I SHALL conclude with obſerving that *Livy* had never travelled much, or been employed in

military Affairs; yet what he might want in Experience, was happily ſupplied by wonderful Abilities and Eloquence, by ſevere Study, and unwearied Endeavours after Knowledge and Information; ſo that he deſcribes all the Countries, Towns, Seas, and Ports, whither the *Roman* Legions and Navies came, with near the ſame Accuracy and Perfection, which he could any Place in *Italy*, lays a Siege, draws up an Army with Skill and Conduct ſcarce inferior to *Cæſar* himſelf. Had there been as many Charms in the Converſation of this extraordinary Man, as there are in his Writings, the Gentleman of *Cadiz* would not repent of his long Journey, who came from thence merely to ſee *Livy* from the Fame of his incomparable Eloquence, and celebrated Abilities; and we have Reaſon to believe he received Satisfaction, becauſe after he had ſeen *Livy* and converſed with him, he had no Curioſity to ſee *Rome*, to which he was ſo near, and which at that Time was, for its Magnificence and Glory, one of the greateſt Wonders of the whole Earth. Nor leſs was the Veneration paid to the Memory of this immortal Writer by *Alphonſo* King of *Arragon*, above two hundred Years ſince. That Prince ſent his Embaſſador to the Citizens of *Padua*, and obtained a Bone of that Arm with which *Livy* had writ his Hiſtory; he cauſed it to be removed to *Naples* with the greateſt Marks of Honour, as the moſt ineſtimable Preſent; and it is ſaid that he recovered his Health from a languiſhing Indiſpoſition, by the Delight he took in reading this immortal Hiſtory.

BUT though Antiquity has ever paid ſo great a Deference to the Merit of this Great Man, and recommended him to us as the perfecteſt and moſt complete Model of all others: yet nothing it ſeems is ſo abſolute and accompliſhed, but Malice and Ill-nature will fix upon as Matter of Blame and Cenſure. In the Age wherein he lived, *Aſinius Pollio* arraigned his Style, and called it *Patavinity*. What he meant by it has given Occaſion to the ſpeculative Refinements and different Conjectures of the Critics. *Pignorius* conceives, it reſpects only the Orthography of certain Words in which *Livy* uſed one Letter for another, after the Cuſtom of his Country, writing *ſibe* and *quaſe*, for *ſibi* and *quaſi*, which he proves by many ancient Inſcriptions: but the moſt received Opinion is, that this *Roman* Lord, being uſed to the Delicacy of the Language ſpoken in the Court of *Auguſtus*, could not bear with certain Provincial Idioms which *Livy*, as a *Paduan*, uſed in many Places of his Hiſtory. This was the Sentiment of *Quintilian*, who had too ſubtil a Diſcernment, and lived too near theſe Times, to be ignorant of the Meaning of this Charge.

HE was blamed by *Auguſtus* for favouring *Pompey*'s Party, and inclining to the Side of Liberty; and *Caligula* accuſed him of Negligence on one ſide, and an exceſſive Redundancy of Words on the other, and commanded his Statues and Writings to be removed from all Libraries, where he knew they were curiouſly preſerved. But the capricious Humour of this Tyrant exerted itſelf with the ſame Barbarity againſt the Portraits and Works of *Homer* and

Virgil. *Domitian*, another Monſter and Prodigy of Nature, put to Death one *Metius Pompoſianus*, for the Delight he received in reading the Orations of *Livy*. *Seneca* the Rhetorician accuſes *Livy* of Envy and Prejudice when he gave *Thucydides* the Preference to *Saluſt*. *Quintilian* obſerves, that *Livy* begins his Hiſtory with an Hexameter Verſe. *Gregory* the Great would not ſuffer the Works of *Livy* to be laid up in any *Chriſtian* Library: indeed his Hiſtory is full of Prodigies; ſometimes an Ox ſpeaks, then a Mule ingenders; Men, Women, Cocks and Hens change their Sex; it rains Showers of Flint-ſtones, Fleſh, Chalk, Blood and Milk. The Statues of the Gods are ſaid to ſpeak, to ſhed Tears, and ſweat pure Blood. How many Apparitions and Phantoms do we find? How many Armies ready to engage in the Air? How many Lakes and Rivers of Blood? Pope *Gregory* was perſuaded that *Livy* intermixed thoſe Prodigies in his Hiſtory to authorize his Religion, when his Deſign perhaps was no more than to divert the Reader with Variety, to enliven the Dulneſs, and relieve the Melancholy of his Narrations.

His Style is blamed for being too diffuſive, and by his continual Amplifications he wants that Vigour and Strength which is admirable in *Thucydides*; but this Fault may be eaſily pardoned, conſidering that it is this Diffuſeneſs alone that renders him ſtately and majeſtic. It muſt be owned he is ſometimes obſcure, and affects the Uſage of very ancient *Latin* Words, which are now obſolete, and he has peculiar Ways of ſpeaking, unknown to other Authors, and only proper to himſelf. But it is probable

he has been corrupted in many Places, whether by thoſe who were the firſt Copyiſts, or by the antient Editors or by the Modern, or by the falſe Conjectures of unſkilful Critics, who pretending to correct him where they have not underſtood him, have quite ſpoiled what they wiſhed to have mended, ſo that we are far from having *Livy* ſuch as he was at firſt.

HE is charged with being not exact enough in furniſhing himſelf with Documents and diving into the Bottom of his Subject; that he only wrote from the Memoirs of the Conquerors, who had undoubtedly ſuppreſſed what made to their Diſadvantage. They add, that if *Livy* had been at the ſame Expence to purchaſe the Memorials of *Carthage*, as *Thucydides* to obtain thoſe of *Lacedæmon*, he had not expatiated ſo largely upon the Dignity of the *Roman* People, he would doubtleſs have found ſome Particulars where to have done more Juſtice to *Hannibal* and his Republic than he did.

THE Revelation of *Romulus* after his Death, that *Rome* ſhould become the Capital of the World, and all the Particulars of that Apparition ſeen by *Proculus*, and which he related to the People, has ſomething ſo enthuſiaſtic in it that one is amazed an Author of ſo ſolid a Character ſhould ſuffer ſuch a Story to paſs without giving it a more plauſible Turn. The Adventure of *Lucretia*, as wondrous as it is, is not ſo admirably put together, there is ſomething wanting to its Probability, a Man knows not upon what Grounds ſhe kills herſelf. If ſhe has ſuffered Violence, why does ſhe puniſh herſelf, ſince ſhe could not reſiſt it? Why would ſhe not die

die before ſhe was raviſhed? Is it Modeſty or Vanity, is it Wiſdom or Deſpair, is it Love of Virtue or Glory, that makes her ſtab herſelf? All Things rightly conſidered, one knows not what it is. The Audacity of *Clælia* too is a little extravagant, and conſidering the Nature of the *Tiber*, was a Thing impracticable; a Maid naturally timorous could never think of attempting ſo dangerous a Paſſage in a River whoſe Margin is almoſt inacceſſible. A few more Failings might be collected out of the Writings of *Livy*, which ſhew indeed that his Pen was mortal, and nothing is more eſſential to Man than ſometimes to err; but his many Excellencies, and the Greatneſs of his Merit remain ſtill ſacred and inviolable. No Hiſtorian could be happier in the Dignity of his Subject, and none was better qualified to adorn it; his Genius was every way capable of the mighty Undertaking, and was equal and abundantly correſpondent to the Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* LIVY.

Livy, cum variis Annotationibus, editio elegans. apud *Vaſcoſan*, *Pariſ.* 1543. Fol.
—— ex emendatione & Scholiis *Car. Sigonii*. Editio elegans & rariſ. apud *Aldum*. *Venet.* 1555.
—— ad uſum Sereniſſ. Delphini edidit *Joh. Dujat*, qui ſupplementa *Joh. Freinſhemii* adjecit. *Pariſ.* 1679, 6 vol. 4to. 3*l.* 3*s.*
—— notis Variorum & ſupplementis *Freinſhemii* edidit *Joh. Frid. Gronovius*, qui & ſuas Annotat. adjecit. *Lug. Bat.* 1679. 3 vol. 8vo. 2*l.* 2*s.*
—— variis Lect. & Notis illuſtratus à *Tho. Hearne*. *Oxon*, 1708, 6 vol. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*
—— cum Supplementis & Notis Varior. ac *J. B. Crevier*. *Pariſ.* 1735. 6 vols. 4to. 5*l.* 5*s.*
—— Notis *Joh. Clerici* & Supplementis. *Amſt.* 1709. 10 vols. 8vo. *minori*. 15*s.*
—— Editio nitidiſſ. Typis *Elzevirianis*. *Lug. Bat.* 1634. 3 vols. 12mo. 15*s.*
—— *Drakenborch*, 7 vols. 4to. *Amſt.* 1738. 5*l.* 5*s.*
—— printed by *Ruddiman*, a very correct and beautiful Edition, 4 vols. 12°. *Edinb.* 1751. 12*s.*

VELLEIUS

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

THOUGH this Writer in the two Books he compoſed, pretended only to write an Epitome of the *Roman* Hiſtory, from the Foundation of *Rome* to the Time wherein he lived, which he ſays was the Reign of *Tiberius*, yet he began his Account with Things more ancient: for tho' the Beginning of his firſt Book is loſt, we nevertheleſs find in it the Remains of the Antiquities of many Cities more ancient than *Rome*, the Origin of which he diſcovers before he deſcribes the Foundation of that great Metropolis. He was of illuſtrious Extraction, as appears from thoſe of his Family, who had ſignalized themſelves in the Exerciſe of many of the great Employments of the *Roman* Empire; was a military Tribune when *Caius Cæſar*, a Grandſon of *Auguſtus*, had an Interview with the King of the *Parthians* in an Iſle of the *Euphrates*; commanded a Squadron of Horſe in *Germany* under *Tiberius*, and accompanied that Prince nine Years ſucceſſively in all his Expeditions; he received honourable Rewards from him, and was advanced to the Prætorſhip. Having happily ſucceeded in the military Profeſſion, he ſays himſelf, that the Remembrance of the Countries he had viſited during the Time he commanded in the Armies, and in his Travels

through the Provinces of *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, *Aſia* the leſs, and other more eaſterly Regions, eſpecially thoſe upon the Shores of the *Euxine* Sea, furniſhed his Mind with the moſt agreeable Ideas and Recollections. Whereby one may judge, that if he had written this Hiſtory as intire and large as he ſometimes promiſed, we ſhould have found many Things very conſiderable in it, as reported by a Man who was ſo eminent an Eye-witneſs, and had a Share in the Execution of the nobleſt Part of them. In that little which is left, wherein he repreſents all compendiouſly, divers Particulars are related that are no where elſe to be found; which happened either from the Silence of other Hiſtorians Matters, or the Loſs of Part of their Labours.

THE Style of *Velleius Paterculus* is very worthy of his Age, which was alſo the Time of pure Latinity. His greateſt Excellence lies in ſcurrilizing or praiſing thoſe he ſpeaks of, which he does in the harſheſt, or ſofteſt Terms, and the ſevereſt, or moſt delicate Expreſſions that are ſeen in any other Hiſtorian or Orator. But he is blamed, and perhaps with reaſon, for flattering too much the Party and Family of *Auguſtus*, and making extravagant Eulogies not only of *Tiberius*, but even of his Favourite *Sejanus*, whoſe Merit he celebrates as one of the principal and moſt *virtuous* Perſons whom the *Roman* Commonwealth ever produced. But the like Fault may be found in many others who have written the Hiſtory of their own Times, with a Deſign to publiſh it whilſt they lived; however, *Lipſius* imagined, that theſe his exceſſive Praiſes of *Sejanus* were the Cauſe of his Fall, and the Ruin of

of the reſt of that unhappy Favourite's Friends, who were almoſt all put to death upon his Account; but yet this Opinion can paſs for nothing but a mere Conjecture, ſince it is no where elſe to be found.

THE Nature of his Epitome did not (it ſeems) admit of Orations, yet an oblique one is to be found in his ſecond Book, in which he introduces the Son of *Tigranes* ſpeaking to *Pompey* to procure his Favour. *Paterculus*'s Remark (ſays *Rapin*) upon the Death of *Pompey*, baſely aſſaſſinated by the Perfidy of King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*; has ſomewhat of Greatneſs in it, and well becomes that Place of the Story, which wanted ſuch Light and Grace: So various, ſays he, was the Fortune of that Great Man, that he who but lately wanted Earth for the Extent of his Victories, now wanted it for the Dimenſions of his Grave. The Thought is beautiful, but rather too much refined after the Manner of this Author; *Paterculus*, ſays the ſame Critic, to enliven the melancholy Story of the Proſcription by the Triumviri, throws in a very pleaſant Piece of Raillery, which he makes to be delivered by the Soldiers as they followed the triumphal Chariot of *Lepidus* and *Plancus*: Our two Conſuls triumphed not over the *Gauls*, but over the *Germans*, as having conſented to the Baniſhment of their *neareſt Relations*. Such Strictures as theſe, as they are ſurpriſing in themſelves, ſo they are very fortunate in Hiſtory, and have a wonderful Effect in relieving the Mind, and raiſing the Attention.

THERE is ſomething very remarkable in the Style of this Writer, which is, that among all

his Figures of Oratory, he employs the *Epiphonema* ſo gracefully, that perhaps no one ever equalled him in this Reſpect. So that in all, or moſt of the Events which he mentions, there are few that he does not conclude with one of thoſe ſententious Reflections, to which Rhetoricians give this Denomination. Beſides the Beauty of this Figure when it is judiciouſly employed, as he well knew how to do, there is nothing inſtructs a Reader more uſefully than this Kind of Corollary applied to the End of the chief Actions of every Narration. Our Writer ſhews his ſtrong Inclination to Eloquence in his Invective againſt *Marc Anthony* on the Subject of his Proſcription, and upon the Death of *Cicero*, whom he wonderfully applauds in this Place, and in another of the ſame Book, where he acknowledges that without ſuch a Perſon, *Greece*, though overcome in Arms, might have boaſted to have been victorious in Wit. He had ſo mighty an Eſteem for this Orator, that he declares that excepting thoſe whom *Cicero* ſaw, or by whom he was ſeen and heard, there was no one among the *Romans* who deſerved to be admired for their Eloquence, which was a Faculty as to the excelling Part, that was circumſcribed only within the Compaſs of *Cicero*'s Life.

BESIDES the two Books of the abridged Hiſtory of *Velleius Paterculus*, a Fragment has been produced, which is aſcribed to him, touching the Defeat of ſome *Roman* Legions in the Country of the *Griſons*. It mentions a City called *Cicera*, and takes notice, that of a Legion there engaged *Verres* alone eſcaped, whom *Cicero* cauſed afterwards to be condemned with Infamy, for having

having, during his Proconſulſhip in *Sicily*, uſed ſuch Extortions as almoſt ruined that important Province. But moſt learned Men, and *Velſerus* with *Voſſius* among the reſt, declaim againſt this Piece, which they affirm to be ſpurious, as well from the Style, which ſeems to be of an Age much inferior to that of *Paterculus*, as from the Matter which it treats, in which they find great Abſurdities. But laying aſide the doubtful Judgment of Critics, it is evident in reſpect of the true Phraſe of this Author, that excepting the Faults proceed rather from his Tranſcribers than himſelf, and the Copies than the Original, we have nothing more pure in all the *Latin* Language than his Writings, nor more worthy of the Times of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*.

THIS Writer is allowed to be a clear and elaborate Expounder of ancient Hiſtory. He is honeſt and true, ſays *Aldus Minutius*, till you come to the *Cæſars*, where he is not every where faithful; for through Flattery he conceals and covers many Things, and plainly relates them otherwiſe than they were, yet he every where expreſſes himſelf with a full and flowing Eloquence. Nothing, ſays *Lipſius*, can flow with greater Purity and Sweetneſs than his Style, he comprehends the Antiquities of the *Romans* with ſo much Brevity and Perſpicuity, that, if he were extant intire, he would be without an Equal; he commends the illuſtrious Perſons he names in a certain exalted Oratory, becoming ſo great a Man. His Style is pure, clear, elegant, and worthy of the beſt Age of *Roman* Literature. But this Critic cenſures his Faults with great Freedom. Among the Ancients, ſays he, *Velleius Paterculus* likewiſe raiſes

my Indignation. He repreſents *Ælius Sejanus* endowed with all good Qualities, and applauds him as upon a Theatre. The Effrontery of this Hiſtorian! However, we know he was born and died for the Deſtruction of Mankind. After many Commendations, he concludes, that *Livia Auguſta* was a Woman that reſembled the Gods more than Man. As to *Tiberius*, he thinks it a Crime to ſpeak otherwiſe of him than of immortal *Jove*. What ſincere or honeſt Mind can bear this? On the other hand, how diſingenuouſly doth he conceal every where the excellent Qualities of *Cæſar Germanicus*? How invidiouſly does he ruin the Reputation of *Agrippina*, and others, whom *Tiberius* was thought to hate? In ſhort, he is nothing but a Court Paraſite. You will ſay, perhaps, it was unſafe to ſpeak the Truth in theſe Times; I own it: But if he durſt not write the Truth, he ought not to have written Lyes. No Man is called to an Account for Silence.

IT is ſomewhat ſtrange that a Work ſo worthy to be carefully preſerved, and of which Copies might be eaſily made by reaſon of its Brevity, ſhould be in danger of being loſt. The firſt Edition of this Author was publiſhed by *Rhenanus* at *Baſil*, from the Manuſcript of *Morbac*, in the Year 1520. It is obſerved that no ancient Writer but *Priſcian* makes mention of *Paterculus*; but the Moderns have done him infinitely more Juſtice, by publiſhing him frequently with Notes and Commentaries. The *Annales Velleiani* of Mr. *Dodwell*, prefixed to the *Oxford* Edition, diſcover a very ſingular Knowledge of Antiquity.

Beſt

Beſt EDITIONS *of* VEL. PATERCULUS.

Paterculus ad uſum ſereniſſ. Delphini. *Pariſ.* 1675. 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*
Notis Variorum & *Ant. Thyſii. Lugd. Bat.* 1688. 8vo. 5*s.*
Variis Lectionis. & Notis *Tho. Hearne. Oxon.* 1711. 8vo. 3*s.*
Notis Variorum & *Petri Burmanni. Lugd. Bat.* 1719. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS.

ALEXANDER had no Reaſon to complain, as he once did, for not having, like *Achilles*, a *Homer* to celebrate his Actions, ſince there was found among the *Latins* ſo eminent an Hiſtorian as *Quintus Curtius* to deſcribe the great Actions of his Life. He was certainly, ſays *La Mothe*, one of the nobleſt Authors they had, and the Excellence of his Style ſeems to intimate that he was more ancient than *Livy* and *Paterculus*, and to make him paſs for him whom *Cicero* mentions in one of his Epiſtles, if the more common Opinion of thoſe who have laboured in the Search of his Age, did not place him in the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, and ſome to have lived in the Time of *Trajan*. As he lived to a great Age, he may well be the ſame Perſon mentioned by *Suetonius* as a great Rhetorician, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and by *Tacitus* as a Prætor and Proconſul of *Africa* under that Emperor; for there are not above two and thirty Years from the laſt of *Tiberius* to the firſt of *Veſpaſian*; and what the younger *Pliny* reports of a Viſion which appeared in *Africa* to one *Curtius Rufus*, can be underſtood of no other than him who is mentioned by *Tacitus*.

BUT it is of little Moment to reconcile the Diverſity of Opinions upon this Subject, which

are

are collected by *Voſſius*; perhaps he was only a Son of thoſe whom *Cicero* or *Suetonius* mentions, and may have nothing in common with any of the other above mentioned, eſpecially conſidering that neither *Quintilian*, nor any of the Ancients have ſaid a Word of him, or his Hiſtory, which is very ſtrange: For how *Quintilian*, who omitted not to mention all the conſiderable Hiſtorians then extant, in the tenth Book of his Inſtitutions, written in *Domitian*'s Reign, could omit him, is not to be accounted for, without ſuppoſing that the Works of *Quintus Curtius* were not at that Time publiſhed.

THE common Impreſſions of this Author confeſs that his two firſt Books, and the End of the Fifth, are loſt, as alſo the Beginning of the Sixth; and in ſome few Places of the laſt, which is the Tenth, there appears a manifeſt Defect. The two firſt Books were ſupplied by *Chriſtopher Bruno*, which he did out of what *Arrian*, *Diodorus*, *Juſtin*, and ſome others had related upon the ſame Subject. The Character of this Writer is highly applauded by the moſt eminent Judges of Hiſtory, though not wholly exempt from Imperfections. Both *Arrian* and *Quintus Curtius* are florid Writers, ſays *Colerus*, but *Curtius* is by far the moſt ſplendid; he does rather weary than ſatiate his Reader, he abounds with direct and oblique Sentences by which the Life of Man is happily illuſtrated. *Lipſius* agrees in the ſame Judgment: He is, ſays he, in my Opinion, an honeſt and true Hiſtorian, if any ſuch there have been; there is a ſtrange Felicity in his Style, and a Pleaſantneſs in his Relations; he is conciſe and fluent, ſubtle and clear,

clear, careleſs and yet accurate, true in his Judgment, ſuccinct in his Sentences, and in his Orations eloquent above what I can expreſs. But Father *Rapin* gives the fulleſt Account of this Writer, which I ſhall tranſlate at large.

QUINTUS CURTIUS, ſays this Critic is refulgent and florid, nothing can be more elaborate: he affects a Gaiety in his Expreſſions, which extremely pleaſes Men of Genius. Every Thing ought to be grounded upon Reaſon, therefore this Hiſtorian is not always in the right. When he endeavours to make his Hero ſo admirable, he does not make him take the wiſeſt Reſolutions, but on the contrary the moſt heroic and perilous. He always finds a Charm in Danger, and cares not ſo much for Conqueſts as the Honour of conquering. He has handled a noble Subject with too florid and gay an Air, in Terms too exquiſite and ſtudied, and too elaborate Figures. In ſome Places he ſports a little with his Subject, forgetting the Importance was ſuch as required more Gravity. It is in the Power of his Hero to ſurprize *Darius* in the Night, and by that Means keep him from knowing how weak he was, *Darius* having double the Number of Men; but this great Man, who is leſs ſolicitous for getting a Victory than making his Valour to be admired, attacks the King of *Perſia* in broad Day, being reſolved rather to die with Honour, than conquer by a Surpriſe. *Darius*, after his Defeat, offers to divide *Aſia* with him, and propoſes a Match between him and his Daughter, but *Alexander* rather chuſes to arrive at Glory through Dangers, than become a Maſter ſo peaceably, he will hear of none of theſe Propoſals,

Propoſals, and aims at nothing but what is wonderful. His Hiſtorian, I confeſs, does him a great deal of Honour, but does not all this great Honour want a little Probability? Does he not make his Hero more raſh than wiſe? and more adventurous than ambitious? He thought theſe Sentences more noble, no doubt, but on the other Side he has ſtrained them too far, and has given us reaſon to queſtion whether he has left us a Romance, or an Hiſtory. *Quintus Curtius* might well have declined making *Alexander* ſo infamous as he does in ſome Places. There are ſome Perſons of that Eminence as to have a Right to Privileges, whom we ought to treat with Civility and Reſpect; we may indeed relate their perſonal Faults, but we muſt never offend their Dignity, or debaſe their Greatneſs. This Hiſtorian, however, deſerves to be commended for his Sincerity for he ſpeaks the good and the bad of his Hero, without the leaſt Prepoſſeſſion in favour of his Merit. If any Fault be to be found with his Hiſtory, it is for being too poliſhed; but nevertheleſs he has excelled in a pleaſant and natural Way of deſcribing the Manners of Mankind.

ANTONIUS PANORMITANUS, and ſeveral others, obſerve a memorable Occurrence concerning this Hiſtorian, in reference to *Alphonſo* the wiſe King of *Arragon*, who finding himſelf oppreſſed with an Indiſpoſition, from which all the Remedies of his Phyſicians could not deliver him, applied himſelf by way of Amuſement to the Reading of *Quintus Curtius*; which he did with ſo much Satisfaction and Succeſs, that he became cured of his Infirmity, and proteſted to all about him, that neither *Hippocrates*

crates nor *Avicenna* ſhould ever be of equal Conſideration to him as *Curtius*.

BUT notwithſtanding the Applauſe that generally attends the Character of this Hiſtorian, he is not to be diſmiſſed without taking notice of his Imperfections. Though he muſt be allowed to be very terſe and florid in his Style, this Humour of declaiming has led him into many Errors. His Narrations want that Simplicity which is eſſential to Hiſtory, and are delivered in ſuch elegant Terms and Heat of Eloçution, as makes it evident he ſtudied the Art of Rhetoric more than Hiſtory. This Affectation of Eloquence frequently makes him frigid, and ever ſententious. He is juſtly condemned for his abſurd Hyperboles, and incredible Narrations. Who can imagine an hundred thouſand Foot and ten thouſand Horſe were cut off with the Loſs of no more than an hundred and fifty Horſe and thirty-two Foot, and this in an obſtinate Fight, wherein *Darius*'s Guards are repreſented as dying honourably and bravely in Defence of their King?

THE Deſcription of the River *Ganges* in *India*, with its Inhabitants, offends againſt the Unity of Hiſtory, and is too excurſive a Digreſſion. His Characters are imperfect, and often inconſiſtent. What we have of the Perſons who act, except of the Hero and *Parmenio*, is little more than a Criticiſm on ſome particular Facts. *Darius* is deſcribed as impatient of the Truth, juſt before *Charidemus* is hurried away to capital Puniſhment; and as his Death is purely the Effect of *Darius*'s Cruelty and Pride, the Character the Hiſtorian gives him of Clemency and Sanc-

titu

tity is altogether inconſiſtent. The Attempt on *Alexander*'s Life, by Way of Aſſaſſination and Bribery is another Inſtance of *Darius*'s Inhumanity. *Curtius* makes *Parmenio* ſuperior to his Hero: "*Parmenio* acted many Things without the *King*, but the King nothing of moment without *Parmenio*."

NOTWITHSTANDING that his Orations are harmonious, and full of elegant Alluſions, Illuſtrations and Compariſons; yet they are too ſententious, and ſometimes ill adapted to the Perſons. The Oration of the *Scythians* to *Alexander* is a ſtudied Invective againſt Covetouſneſs and Ambition; but has no Probability as it ſtands in that Hiſtory. Had theſe *Scythians* been Lords of the Univerſe, they could not have expreſſed themſelves in ſublimer Terms and with greater Confidence; and yet they were ſubdued at the firſt Aſſault, though they had many Advantages on their Side. He is condemned in the *Ars Critica* of *Le Clerc*, for Ignorance in Aſtronomy and Geography, and Neglect in Chronology. He has ſituated the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* in a wonderful temperate Climate, though it lies in the *Inner Lybia* about twenty Degrees of North Latitude. He has put *Arabia Felix* for *Arabia Deſerta*, and placed it on the left Hand, when it ſhould be on the right. And a little after he makes *Tigris* and *Euphrates* run through *Media*, where they never come; which is alſo the Error of *Diodorus Siculus*. He confounds Mount *Caucaſus* with *Taurus*; and makes the *Caſpian* and *Hircanian* two Seas, with many Errors of the ſame Nature. However this Writer is certainly preferable to all other Hiſtorians,

for

for the Uſe of Schools: His Acuteneſs and Vehemency make the deepeſt Impreſſions on the Minds of Youth. There is a muſical Flow in the Number of his Proſe. His Periods taken together are wonderfully ſweet, and his moral Reflections very inſtructive. Nothing ſurpaſſes him in that kind of Eloquence of which Children ſhould have a Taſte in their firſt Compoſitions.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* Q. CURTIUS.

Curtius ad uſum ſereniſſ. Delphini. *Pariſiis*, 1678, 4to. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Notis Variorum & *Sam. Pitiſci*, 2 vols. æneis figuris. *Hag. Com.* 1708. 8vo. 10*s*. 6*d*.

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TITUS

TITUS PETRONIUS ARBITER.

TITUS PETRONIUS was a *Roman* Knight, of the Family of the *Petronii*, which derived its Original from the *Sabines*, and gave ſo many illuſtrious Men to the Service of the Republic. There is no Queſtion but he was brought up with all the Care they then employed at *Rome* in the Education of young Perſons of Quality; for at that Time the *Romans* were very induſtrious in cultivating the Minds of their Youth, and even ſeemed to emulate the Severity of the *Greeks*.

WHAT he chiefly applied himſelf to was polite Literature; and that he particularly endeavoured to acquire a Juſtneſs of Taſte is evident, ſince we find it in its utmoſt Perfection in his Writings.

AFTER the Completion of his firſt Studies, he made his Appearance at the Court of *Claudius*; but his Aſſiduity there was no Hinderance to his principal Deſign, of perfecting himſelf in the Sciences; he therefore employed his vacant Hours in making Declamations, which was the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, in order to exerciſe and enable young Gentlemen of the firſt Quality to ſpeak in public; for which Purpoſe they had ſeveral Schools, and by this ſucceſsful Method furniſhed themſelves with ſo many famous

famous Orators, both in their Senate and Armies, to the great Advantage of the Republic.

THE Court of *Claudius* was then the Seat of Pleaſure, through the Care and Encouragement of the Empreſs *Meſſalina*, who had an entire Aſcendancy over the Mind of the Emperor; for he being a weak Prince, complied with every Thing, provided they indulged him at Table, for he paſſionately loved good Eating, and was fond of Wine, to Exceſs. The Courtiers alſo followed the Examples of their Prince, and Debauchery was no leſs familiar to them. *Petronius* commencing Courtier under a Reign where the Mode of Living was ſo agreeable to his own Temper, he alſo became inſenſibly voluptuous; though it muſt be remarked, that he never delighted in the brutal Pleaſures of Love like *Meſſalina*, nor in thoſe of the Table even to Gluttony with *Claudius*; but only in a delicate and grand Style took a Reliſh of both, rather to gratify his Curioſity than his Senſes. Thus he employed a Part of the Day in Sleep, and dedicated the whole Night to Pleaſure and Buſineſs, his Houſe was the Reſort of all the polite People in *Rome*; his Life agreeably ſpent amongſt their Viſits, and as others make themſelves famous by Intrigues, *Petronius* gained a Reputation by a graceful Indolence, and a Behaviour which was as eaſy, diſengaged and natural, as his ordinary Diſcourſe. One may therefore repreſent him as continually employed either in the Converſation of the Wits of thi Age, the elegant Delights of the Table, or a public Shows or Diverſions; and in ſhort, ſpending his Revenue not like a Prodigal

Debauch

Debauchee, but like an elegant and learned Artiſt in the Science of Pleaſure.

PETRONIUS having paſſed his Youth in a Life of ſo much Softneſs and Tranquillity, was reſolved to convince thoſe who might doubt of the Extent of his Capacity, that it was capable of the higheſt Employments; wherefore he put an Interval to his Pleaſures, and accepting the Proconſulſhip of *Bithynia*, went into that Province, where he diſcharged the Duties of his Office with great Applauſe. After which, as he was on his Return to *Rome*, *Nero* who had ſucceeded *Claudius*, made him Conſul. The Term of his Conſulate being expired, he reſumed without quitting the Court his former Mode of Life, and ſoon became one of the Emperor's Confidents, who could avow and practiſe nothing agreeable, but what was approved by *Petronius*; and this Authority which he poſſeſſed of being Umpire in every Thing, gave him the Name of *Arbiter*, as one who was ſovereign Judge.

NERO, in the firſt Years of his Reign, behaved like a wiſe Prince; and ſo long as he kept within the Bounds of Moderation, *Petronius* acted chearfully under him as Intendant of his Pleaſures, inſtituting for him Shows, Games, Comedies, Muſic, Feaſts, Parties of Pleaſure in the Country, delightful Gardens, beautiful Women; and in ſhort, all that could contribute to make a Prince paſs his Life agreeably.

BUT the Emperor giving Way to his natural Diſpoſition, at length changed his Conduct, not only in regard to the Government of the Empire, but alſo to that of his own Perſon.

He

He liſtened to other Counſels than thoſe of *Petronius*, and engaging himſelf inſenſibly in Debauchery, gave the entire Reins to his Paſſions, and became as wicked a Prince as he had before appeared mild and equitable.

NERO was educated a Scholar, and affected the Character of it from his Youth; for at fifteen Years of Age he pleaded in the Senate in his own Language for the *Boulonnois*, and in *Greek* for the *Rhodians*; but his Learning was confuſed, and very much embarraſſed. He was alſo a Lover of Men of Genius, and had ſeveral Flatterers about him, who, following the Corruption of the Court, treated *Seneca* as a Pedant, nor could endure his preaching Virtue and Morality to them; becauſe they were perſuaded, he himſelf was far from living the Life of a Philoſopher in theſe Particulars. This frequent Ridicule inſinuated itſelf into the Emperor's Mind, and expoſed him to Contempt, which added to his own Knowledge of the unjuſt Ways by which he had amaſſed the immenſe Riches he poſſeſſed; from Contempt he paſſed to Hatred, and this Hatred was at laſt the Deſtruction of *Seneca*.

MEAN Time *Petronius* ſaw with Regret, that the Emperor began to ſhun him; that he often broke out, and following his own corrupt Inclinations, tranſgreſſed the Bounds even of Debauchery itſelf; that he had entirely loſt the Senſe of what he owed to his Dignity, would run through the Streets and Places of ill Repute, inſult all he met, turn Robber, and offer Violence to *Roman* Ladies of the firſt Quality. The diſtinguiſhed Favour of *Petronius* had drawn upon

upon him the Envy of all thoſe, who were emulous as well as himſelf of the good Graces of their Prince; and amongſt others, that of *Tigellinus*, Captain of the Guard, who was a dangerous Rival. This Man, from an obſcure Birth and corrupt Morals, had in a ſhort Time acquired a ſurpriſing Aſcendancy over the Mind of the Emperor; and, as he perfectly knew his Weakneſs, began ſeriouſly to contrive the Ruin of his Competitor, and that by ſuch Means as were thought to threaten the Deſtruction of the Empire.

THE delicate Pleaſures of *Petronius* were continual Upbraidings to the groſs Debaucheries of *Tigellinus*; who, foreſeeing that *Petronius*'s Credit would always be an Obſtacle to his Deſigns, reſolved to make himſelf entire Maſter of his Prince's Heart; and, as their Inclinations were almoſt the ſame, he ſoon engaged him in the moſt ſcandalous Exceſſes. It is certain, he met with little Difficulty in the Attempt; for finding a Nature wholly propitious to them, he drew the Emperor without Trouble into Pleaſures, which were neither in the Style, nor by the Advice of *Petronius*; and thus they completely depraved him in order to ſecure him from his Rival; for *Nero*, who, was already a Parricide by the Murder of his Mother, no ſooner gave ear to *Tigellinus*, but he ſignalized his Tyranny by the Deaths of *Sylla* and *Rubellius Plautus*, both Perſons dreaded by them for their Virtue, and the Favour they were in with the People. After which, Fury and Brutality made themſelves Miſtreſſes of his Heart to ſuch an Exceſs, that the moſt enormous Crimes were

openly perpetrated by him. When the Emperor was thus confirmed in his Diſorders, the old Favourite found himſelf almoſt without Employment near his Prince, and *Nero* himſelf was not able to endure ſo critical a Witneſs of his Infamy, and no longer gave him that free Acceſs to his Pleaſures, which he formerly enjoyed.

TIGELLINUS taking Advantage of theſe Diſpoſitions, omitted nothing that might gratify the Deſires of his Prince, by the magnificent Feaſts he provided; and as his Rival, according to *Tacitus*, much ſurpaſſed him in the Science of Pleaſures, one may conclude without fear of being deceived, that thoſe which *Petronius* deviſed were of a different Nature, and exempt from thoſe Exceſſes that were ſeen in one of their Feaſts, which that Hiſtorian relates as an Example of all the reſt, and deſcribes in this Manner. They prepared a ſtately Feaſt on the Lake of *Agrippa*, in a Veſſel covered with Plates of Gold and Ivory: The Rowers were placed in their Ranks, which they took according to their Age and Experience in Debauchery. The Ends of the Earth were ranſacked for the rareſt Eatables. The Margin of the Lake was embelliſhed with Porticoes, in which were great Numbers of Chambers filled on one Side with Women of Quality who proſtituted themſelves to the firſt Comers, and on the other with naked Courtezans in a thouſand laſcivious Poſtures: At Night appeared ſurpriſing Illuminations in every Quarter, and the Woods and Palaces round about reſounded with Concerts of muſical Inſtruments, and Songs adapted to the

Feſtival. In ſhort, to conclude this grand Debauch in a memorable Action, *Nero* was married a little after to one of the moſt abandoned Wretches, named *Pythagoras*, and this publicly with all the accuſtomed Ceremonies. They put upon the Emperor's Head the Eſpouſed's Veil, ſent him two Auſpices, aſſigned him the Marriage-Portion, adorned the nuptial Bed, lighted the Wedding Torch; and, to conclude, the Bride admitted that to be ſeen by all the Company which the Shades of Night conceal in the moſt lawful Pleaſures.

PETRONIUS, diſguſted at theſe Scenes of Licentiouſneſs, inſenſibly withdrew himſelf from Court, and being of a mild and unenterprizing Nature, ſuffered Things to continue in the Train they had taken, without attempting to re-eſtabliſh them in the Condition he left them. I imagine, it was about this Time that he vented his Uneaſineſs in his Satire, which is ſo lively a Repreſentation of the Character and Humour of *Nero*; and under the Names of Debauchees and lewd Women, decries all the Vices of this Prince and his Courtiers.

WHILST *Petronius* thus lived in a retired Tranquillity, *Tigellinus* laboured with all his Power to deſtroy him, that he might for ever take from the Rival he had removed, the Poſſibility of re-entering into Favour; and as he knew that Cruelty was the predominant Inclination of his Prince, he inſinuated to him that *Petronius* was too much the Friend of *Scevinus*, not to be involved in *Piſo*'s Conſpiracy; and to ſupport his Impoſture, cauſed him to be preſent at the Examination of one of *Petronius*'s Slaves, whom he

had ſuborned to ſwear againſt his Maſter. After which, to deprive him of all Means of juſtifying himſelf, they ſent the greateſt part of his Domeſticks into Priſon.

NERO was very glad of the Opportunity of loſing a Man, who was become irkſome to him; he therefore lent a favourable Ear to the Accuſation againſt *Petronius*, who was ſoon after arreſted by his Orders at *Cuma*, upon a Journey which the Emperor took to that Place, and into *Campania*. But it required ſome Time to deliberate, whether they ſhould put a Perſon of his Conſequence to Death, without more evident Proofs of the Crimes laid to his Charge. He conceived ſo great a Diſguſt to living under the Dominion of ſo deteſtable a Prince, that he reſolved to die. However, that he might not give himſelf a precipitate Death, he cauſed his Veins to be opened and afterwards cloſed again, that he might enjoy the Converſation of his Friends, who came to ſee him in his laſt Moments; and whom he deſired to entertain him, not with Diſcourſes on the Immortality of the Soul, nor thoſe celebrated Actions invented by the Pride of Philoſophers to amuſe the World with a vain Opinion of their Conſtancy, but with agreeable Tales and Poetic Gallantries.

As *Petronius* had an utter Abhorrence of People of *Nero*'s and *Tigellinus*'s Character, he would not imitate the mean Spirit of thoſe, who dying in theſe wretched Times by the Orders of that Prince, yet made him their Heir; and affectedly filled their Teſtaments with Eulogies on the Tyrant and his Favourite. On the contrary, being poſſeſſed of a Goblet of precious

Stones, which had coſt him above two thouſand Piſtoles, and out of which he commonly drank, he broke it to Pieces, that *Nero*, who he knew would ſeize it after his Death, might not have the Pleaſure of uſing it at his Table. After this he thought proper, as his only Preſent, to ſend him his Satire, written on Purpoſe againſt him; but having ſealed it up, tore off the Seal again, for fear when he was dead it might be made uſe of as an Inſtrument to deſtroy thoſe in whoſe Hands it ſhould be found.

NERO was exceedingly enraged, to ſee *Petronius* ſo well acquainted with Infamies he thought he had hidden from him; and after levelling his Suſpicion at all that could poſſibly betray him, he at laſt fixed on the Wife of a Senator named *Silia*, who, becauſe ſhe was an intimate Friend of *Petronius*, he imagined out of a particular Reſentment might hazard a Diſcovery of what would have been more for her Honour to conceal; and upon this Jealouſy ſhe was ſent into Baniſhment. It was in the Year of the Foundation of *Rome* 819, under the Conſulſhips of *Caius Suetonius Paulinus* and *Lucius Pontius Teleſinus*, that City was deprived of ſo great a Perſon.

PETRONIUS, ſays St. *Evremont*, is to be admired univerſally for the Purity of his Style, and the Delicacy of his Sentiments; but that which more ſurprizes, is his great Facility in giving ingenuouſly all Sorts of Characters. *Terence* is perhaps the only Author of Antiquity, who enters beſt into the Nature of Perſons; but ſtill he has this Fault, that he has too little Variety: His whole Talent being confined in

making Servants and old Men, a covetous Father and a debauched Son, a Slave and an Intriguer, to ſpeak properly according to their ſeveral Characters: So far, and no farther, the Capacity of *Terence* reaches. You muſt not expect from him either Gallantry or Paſſion, either Thoughts or the Diſcourſe of a Gentleman. *Petronius*, who had an univerſal Genius, hits upon the Genius of all Profeſſions, and adapts himſelf, as he pleaſes, to a thouſand different Natures. If he introduces a Declaimer, he aſſumes his Air and his Style ſo well, that one would ſay he had uſed to declaim all his Life. There is no Nature, no Temper, no Profeſſion of which he does not admirably purſue the Genius; he is a Poet, he is an Orator, he is a Philoſopher, or any Thing elſe he thinks proper to aſſume. Upon every Subject that offers itſelf, it is impoſſible to think more elegantly, or to ſpeak with more Purity. In his Narrations, he ſometimes copies after plain unaffected Nature, and contents himſelf with the Graces of Simplicity; ſometimes he gives his Work the finiſhing Strokes, and then nothing is ſo elaborate. *Catullus* and *Martial* treat of the ſame Things in an indelicate Manner, from which *Petronius* is exempt.

THERE is not, ſays *Lipſius*, among all the Poets a more beautiful and agreeable Piece than the Satyricon of *Petronius*; yet though he is eſteemed the moſt elegant and polite Writer of the Age he lived in, yet his Style fell ſomewhat ſhort of the Delicacy of his Judgment; for in this he ſeemed too affected, and too elaborate; his Style degenerating from that natural and

venerable Simplicity which belonged to th happy Age of *Auguſtus*. He is certainly one o the moſt judicious Authors of the *Latin* Tongue and gave many admirable Rules for the Beau ties and Structure of an *Epic* Poem. He wa diſguſted at the Style of *Seneca* and *Lucan*, whic to him ſeemed affected, and contrary to th Principles of *Ariſtotle*. It is at them he inten tionally aimed thoſe oblique Strokes againſt th Poetaſters and falſe Declamators; yet he coul not come up to his own Rules, nor fall int that eaſy and natural Way which he preſcribe to others; for he gave the beſt Advice in th World againſt Affectation, which he never ob ſerved himſelf; for he commends even Sim plicity of Style, whereas his own is not alway natural. To ſay the Truth, ſays *Rapin*, hi Precepts for Poetry are all taken from *Ariſtotle* who is the only Source whence good Senſe is t be derived.

IF *Petronius* intended to expoſe the Luxur and Debauchery of *Nero*'s Court, it is ſtrang he ſhould chuſe to do it in the Manner he does for it is notorious that he ſpeaks of the mo infamous Acts of Lewdneſs with too great Senſibility to be thought a Reformer. I ſhoul rather imagine that he has likewiſe drawn hi own Picture among thoſe of the other Debauchee of that Court and Age. His Satire is ſuch ſtrange heterogeneous Miſcellany of Virtue an Vice, that it is ſometimes difficult to determin what he condemns, or what he approves. H had certainly a great Genius, and knew ver well how to enter into every Character he in tended to commend or expoſe, and is ſaid by

happy Temperature to have joined the Humour of *Plautus* to the Eloquence of *Cicero*; out of which he has formed a moſt lively and elegant Style peculiar to himſelf, and hitherto inimitable; in which the Perfection of *Roman* Urbanity is eaſily diſtinguiſhed by Readers of elegant Taſte and refined Judgment.

AT the Taking of *Alba Græca*, in the Year Sixteen hundred and Eighty-eight, from the *Turks*, there was found the Satyricon of *Petronius*, ſaid to be perfect; and afterwards publiſhed by one *Francis Nodotius*, a *French* Man, who aſſerts it to be compleat; but the Truth of this is much queſtioned by many of the moſt learned Men. A conſiderable Fragment of *Petronius* was pretended to be found at *Trau* in *Dalmatia*, in the *Venetian* Dominions, by a Phyſician, about the Middle of the laſt Century. This occaſioned a Controverſy among the Critics, of which there is ſome Account in *Spon*'s Voyages, who viſited this Phyſician, and ſaw the Manuſcript in Queſtion.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* PETRONIUS.

Petronius Commentariis & Notis Variorum, accedunt Priapeia diverſ. Poet. Pervigilium Veneris, &c. curâ *Mich. Hadrianidis*. *Amſt.* 1669. 8vo. 12*s*.
Notis integris Variorum & *Petri Burmanni*. 4to. *Traject.* 1709. & 1743. 1*l*. 1*s*.
Edit. nitidiſſ. Notis *Joh. Bourdelotti*. *Pariſ.* 1618. 12mo. Iterum *Pariſ.* 1677. 5*s*.
Notis *Nodotii*. *Lond.* 1693. 12mo. 3*s*.

CAIUS

CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS.

CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS, a *Roman* Hiſtorian, who flouriſhed in the firſt Century. We know nothing of his Anceſtors, and probably the Dignity of his Family began in his own Perſon. His firſt Employ is ſaid to have been that of Procurator to *Veſpaſian* in *Gallia Belgica*. The Beginning of his Promotion, ſays *Lipſius*, was under *Veſpaſian*; by whom, as we learn from *Pliny*, being made Procurator of *Gallia Belgica*, he had the Care of that Prince's Revenues. On his Return to *Rome*, he received from the Emperor *Titus* a more honourable Poſt. He was Prætor under the Empire of *Domitian*, and Conſul under *Nerva*. He ſays himſelf that *Domitian* exhibited the Secular Games, "at which I gave a conſtant Attendance in regard to my Office, "being one of the College of Prieſts, and at "the ſame Time Prætor; which, I do not "mention out of Vanity, but becauſe anciently this College, and eſpecially this Magiſtracy, had always the Direction of the Ceremonies."

BUT all theſe Dignities gave him but very little Glory, compared with that which he procured to himſelf by his Writings. His Annals and his Hiſtory are admirable Performances,

and, ſays Mr. *Bayle*, one of the greateſt Productions of the Human Mind; whether you conſider the Singularity of the Style, or attend to the Beauty, the Thoughts, and to that happy Pencil with which he knew how to paint the Diſguiſes and Arts of Politicians, and the Weakneſs of the Paſſions. Not, ſays he, but that he may be cenſured for the Affectation of his Language, and for his enquiring into the ſecret Motives of Actions, and pronouncing them criminal; but it is a great Compliment to his Underſtanding, to remark the Eſteem which ſeveral Princes had for his Works. Pope *Paul* the Third, ſays *Muretus*, the moſt learned Man of our Age, wore out his *Tacitus*, by frequent Peruſal; nor did he meet with ſo much Pleaſure in peruſing any other profane Writer. *Coſmo de Medicis*, the firſt Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, who was formed for governing, and who taught that what is commonly called Fortune, conſiſts in Counſel and Prudence, held the Works of *Tacitus* in high Eſteem, and read them with the greateſt Delight. At this very Day alſo there are ſeveral Princes and Privy Counſellors to Princes who read him with great Application, and regard him as an Oracle in Politics. The Marquis of *Spinola* tranſlated him into his Mother-Tongue; and the learned *Chriſtina*, Queen of *Sweden*, made this Writer miniſter to her Entertainment in her moſt ſerious Hours; ſome Pages of whoſe Hiſtory ſhe read conſtantly every Day.

HE wrote Annals of the public Affairs in ſixteen Books, which begin at the Death of *Auguſtus Cæſar* and continue the Story almoſt to

to the End of *Nero*. We have only Part of them left, namely, the four firſt Books, ſome Pages of the Fifth, all the Sixth, from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth, and Part of the Sixteenth. The two laſt Years of *Nero*, and Part of the preceding Year, are wanting: Theſe are the laſt Books of the Work. He has alſo left us a Hiſtory, which extended from the Reign of *Galba* incluſively, to the Reign of *Nerva* excluſively. He deſigned a particular Work for the Reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and this was the Occupation he reſerved for his old Age; but it is ſuppoſed he never executed this Deſign. If my Life will permit, ſays he, I ſhall reſerve the Reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan* as a more copious and ſecure Subject for my old Age, as we enjoy that rare Felicity to think what we pleaſe, and ſay what we think. He wrote his Hiſtory in the Time of *Trajan*, and therefore it is ſuppoſed he continued it down to that Time; but there is no more of it extant than five Books. *Lipſius* conjectures that there are Ten loſt; for if they reached from *Galba* to *Trajan*, which includes at leaſt a Space of Twenty-one Years, it is probable the greateſt Part of them are wanting, ſince the Five we have comprehend little more than the Occurrences of one Year.

In all the Impreſſions of *Tacitus*, his Annals are printed before his Hiſtory; the Reaſon is becauſe they have a farther Beginning, treating of the laſt Days of *Auguſtus*, proceeding to the End of *Nero*'s Reign, whoſe laſt twelve Years are nevertheleſs wanting; whereas the Books of his Hiſtory ſeem to have followed one another

from the Epoch of the Death of that Tyran
the happy Government of *Nerva* and *Tr*
And yet there is no Doubt but this Write
compoſed his Hiſtory, as being nearer his
Times, for he quotes a Place in the Ele
of his Annals, to which he refers his Re
concerning what he had already written o
Actions of *Domitian*, which were no where
tioned by him but in the Books of his Hi
His Treatiſe concerning the Situation of
many, and the Manners of the *Germans*,
written before his Hiſtory and Annals,
Trajan was Conſul a ſecond Time. The
of *Agricola*, whoſe Daughter he had ma
was written four Years after *Agricola*'s D
about the Beginning of *Trajan*'s Governm
The Dialogue concerning *The Cauſes o*
Decay of Eloquence does not belong to *Ta*
though *Pomponius Sabinus*, a Grammari
the middle Age, quotes a Paſſage from this
logue, making *Tacitus* the Author, thoug
Style is ſo different, that he is juſtly acq
of this Imputation.

WE meet with many great Encomiu
this Annaliſt in the Writings of learned
who yet ſome of them have not failed to
out his Blemiſhes, and deliver down with
Severity his Miſtakes and Imperfections.
the younger, a very conſiderable Perſon
clares in many of his Epiſtles, that he eſte
him one of the moſt eloquent of his Ag
makes him judge of a Diſpute he had abo
Eloquence to be uſed in pleading at the
he deſcribes to one of his Friends the fu
Pomp of *Virginius Rufus*, obſerving his la

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principal Happineſs conſiſted in the Praiſes of the Conſul *Cornelius Tacitus*, who compoſed his Funeral Oration, and was the moſt eloquent Perſon of that Time. When he imparts to another called *Arrian* the Succeſs of a great Cauſe againſt a Proconſul of *Africa*, accuſed of robbing the public Treaſury, he ſays, that *Cornelius Tacitus* made a Replication to the Perſon that defended him, wherein his Eloquence and Gravity, inſeparable from his Diſcourſe, were greatly admired; and to compleat the Character, he declares that from his Youth he had choſen him for a Pattern of Eloquence from among the great Number of excellent Orators who were then in *Rome*.

LIPSIUS expatiates in Commendation of this Hiſtorian, he is a uſeful and great Writer, who ought to be in the Hands of thoſe that ſit at the Helm of Government. In him let us conſider the Courts of Princes, their private Lives, Councils, Commands, and Actions, and from the Similitude of thoſe Times with ours, let us expect the like Events. His Style is by no Means groveling or vulgar, but diſtinguiſhed with frequent and unexpected Maxims, which for their Truth and Brevity may be compared to Oracles; he is indeed a wonderful Writer, for his is not only a Hiſtory, but a Seminary of Precepts.

TACITUS, ſays *La Mothe*, is no leſs ſententious than *Thucydides* or *Salluſt*, but with ſuch Artifice, that all the Maxims he lays down ariſe from the Nature of the Subjects he treats of; there is nothing foreign, affected, or ſuperfluous in what he writes; each Thought holds a

Place which becomes it ſo well that it cannot be diſputed. But what heightens the Merit of this Writer are the Obſervations which others have made before me, that one often learns no leſs from what he left unſaid, than what he expreſſed, his Silence being as inſtructive as his Language, and his Cyphers (to ſpeak in the Terms of Numbers) as conſiderable as his moſt important Figures, becauſe all therein deſcribed is full of Conſideration, Proportion and Judgment. The Emperor *Tacitus*, though inveſted with the Sovereignty of the World, near two hundred Years after the Death of our Hiſtorian, eſteemed it an Honour to have had ſuch an Anceſtor, and to be acknowledged one of his Poſterity. He cauſed a Statue of him to be placed in all the public Libraries, and all his Books to be tranſcribed Ten times every Year, that they might paſs down perfect to future Ages; and yet this extraordinary Caution could not preſerve a great Part of them from being hitherto undiſcovered.

MR. *Gordon* (who has moſt wretchedly acquitted himſelf in the Tranſlation of this Author) has launched out extravagantly in his Commendation: He was, ſays he, the greateſt Orator, Stateſman, and Hiſtorian of his Time, he had long frequented the Bar, had paſſed through all the high Offices of State, he was Ædile, Prætor, Conſul; and after long Acquaintance with Buſineſs and Men, he applied himſelf to collect Obſervations, and to convey the Fruits of his Knowledge to Poſterity, under the agreeable Dreſs of a Hiſtory: for this Taſk he was excellently qualified, no Man had ſeen more,

more, ſcarce any Man had ever thought ſo much, or conveyed his Thoughts with greater Force and Vivacity; a mighty Genius, for which no Conception or Deſign was too vaſt, a powerful Orator, who abounds in great Sentiments and Deſcription, yet a Man of conſummate Integrity, who, though he frequently agitates the Paſſions, never miſleads them; a maſterly Hiſtorian, who draws Events from their firſt Sources, and explains them with a Redundancy of Images, and a Frugality of Words; a profound Politician, who takes off every Diſguiſe, and penetrates every Artifice; an upright Patriot, zealous for public Liberty, and the Welfare of his Country, and a declared Enemy to Tyrants, and the Inſtruments of Tyranny; a Lover of human Kind, a Man of Virtue, who adores Liberty and Truth, and every where adorns and recommends them, who abhors Falſhood and Iniquity, deſpiſes little Arts, expoſes bad ones, and ſhews upon all Occaſions, by the Fate and Fall of great wicked Men, by the Anxiety of their Souls, by the Precarioufneſs of their Power, by the Uncertainty or Suddenneſs of their Fate, what a poor Prize Greatneſs obtained is for Goodneſs loſt, and how infinitely perſecuted Virtue is preferable to ſmiling and triumphant Wickedneſs.

BUT there are learned Men of excellent Abilities who differ widely from the Sentiments of the Writers above mentioned, particularly from the laſt, who thinks himſelf no inconſiderable Obſerver, and diſplays his Talents in recommending his Author, as a mighty Stateſman, of invincible Truth and Integrity, as the Fountain

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and Standard of Honeſty and political Knowledge to all Poſterity. The learned *Caſaubon* in his Preface to *Polybius* ſpeaks thus: If the Fortune of *Tacitus* had not deprived him of a Subject worthy of his Faculties, he might have equalled any of the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, but ſuch Times fell under his Pen, eſpecially in his Annals, as there never were any that were more polluted with Vice, or more deſtitute of; nay, inraged againſt all Virtue. We can eaſily excuſe *Tacitus*, but not thoſe who prefer this Author before all other Hiſtorians, recommending him as the Pattern of Stateſmen and Princes, and the only one whence they and their Counſellors may collect the Rules of Government. Now if we are inclined to expoſe the Abſurdity of this Opinion, it were eaſy to prove that thoſe who hold it accuſe our Princes of Tyranny, or would openly teach them the Principles of it; for what can be more pernicious, eſpecially among young Men, than reading thoſe Annals, ſo full of vicious Examples? For as good Examples when they are frequently in View improve a Man inſenſibly, ſo ill Examples muſt on the contrary hurt us, for by little and little they ſink in our Minds, and obtain the Force of Precepts by being often heard or read. The ſame Charges are brought againſt *Tacitus* as a Writer, and a Compariſon inſtituted betwixt him and *Livy*, greatly to the Diſadvantage of the former by Mr. *Hunter* in his Obſervations on *Tacitus*.

THE *French* Critic *Rapin* has too much Reputation to be overlooked or omitted upon this Occaſion. The Style of *Tacitus*, ſays he, is not

not very proper for Hiſtory, for it is abrupt, and when it ſhines it is like a Flaſh of Lightning, which dazzles rather than gives Light; he has a deſultory Wit, that quickly paſſes from one Thing to another. His Senſe comprehended in few Words is too cloſe for the Reader's Capacity, which is often puzzled with it. And becauſe he does not follow Nature in what he relates, and generally forgets that he ſpeaks to Men, ſo he ſeldom inſtructs us as he ſhould. As for Example, when upon the Occaſion of the *Paphian* Law he relates the Original of Laws, or when in another Place he deſcribes the Privileges of Sanctuaries, he does not trace Things back to their Origin. He never explains Things thoroughly, nay ſometimes he gives a falſe Account of them, as when he takes upon him to deſcribe the *Jewiſh* Religion in the fifth Book of his Hiſtory. His Style is very improper, which is a great Fault in an Hiſtorian, whoſe primary Function is to inſtruct. *Tacitus* is ſtill more uneven than *Salluſt*. His Connexions are generally forced, and the Thread of his Diſcourſe very much broken and interrupted, which is no ſmall Diſcouragement to the Reader, who cannot follow him without putting himſelf out of Breath.

THERE can be no better and exacter Deſcription than that which *Tacitus* makes of the Treat which the Empreſs *Meſſalina* gave to *Silius* her favourite Gallant. This was a Vintage Feaſt with all its Ceremonies, the Seaſon being then Autumn, and favourable for that purpoſe. Mirth, Pleaſure, Effeminacy, Wantonneſs, Impudence, Lewdneſs, and Debauchery, all

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in ſhort is there deſcribed, with an exquiſite Elegance and Delicacy of Expreſſion. The Particulars are related ſuccinctly, diſcreetly, and withal in a very lively manner; and nothing can be more judiciouſly diſpoſed in order to make, by this gay Picture, the Death of *Meſſalina*, which follows ſoon after, the more tragical and full of Horror. In ſhort, there are ſome happy Circumſtances which give a particular Grace to every Thing, when a Man knows how to employ and place them as he ſhould. As for Figures, *Tacitus* is not ſo ſcrupulous, he ſeems to aim at nothing but to dazzle us. The Boldneſs of his Metaphors and other Tropes makes his Expreſſion rather turgid and troubleſome. He is an ill Huſband of his Fire, for he uſes it every where, his Colours alſo are too ſtrong and glaring, and becauſe he is often too expreſſive in ſome Things and does not paint them to the Life, he therefore ſeldom affects us. A Deſcription ought not to be too minute and particular, but ſuch as is the Deſcription of the Iſle of *Caprea* in the fourth Book of the Annals; for we find in it the Reaſons *Tiberius* had to retire thither towards his latter Days, which makes it neceſſary; and as it is conciſe, polite, elegant, and has nothing in it either impertinent or ſuperfluous, it may be ſaid to be a perfect one. Nothing can be finer than the Speech which *Tacitus* makes *Tiberius* deliver to the Senate, upon the Reformation of Luxury, in the third Book of his Annals. Never did any Hiſtorian make a Prince ſpeak with more Dignity. A Picture ought to be true and reſembling, wherein *Tacitus* is not very exact, for he rather chuſes to follow his own Fancy,

than

than imitate Nature, and endeavours more to make fine Pictures than true ones. If his Pictures can but pleaſe, as that of *Sejanus* in the fourth Book of his Annals, he cares little whether they reſemble or no; for he makes *Sejanus* a great deal worſe than he was, if we can believe *Paterculus*, who commends him.

THE Politics of *Tacitus* are often falſe, becauſe his Morals are not true; either he makes the Men too bad, or he is not himſelf plain enough. His Reflections are not natural, becauſe they want Innocence. He poiſons and puts an ill Conſtruction upon Things. He has by this Humour depraved the Taſte of ſeveral, who imitate him in this; though not able to do it in any Thing elſe.

THE Account of the *Phœnix*, which is related in the ſixth Book of his Annals, on Occaſion of the News brought to *Rome* of a *Phœnix* which appeared in *Egypt* under the Reign of *Tiberius*, is according to the Rules of an allowable Digreſſion. The Queſtion is ſcrutinized and examined by the different Opinions of the Naturaliſts about this extraordinary Bird, whoſe Qualities, Figure and Shape are ſuccinctly deſcribed. Theſe ſort of Strokes in a Narration are a great Ornament to it, and ſerve wonderfully well to ſtimulate the Reader's Curioſity, and keep his Attention awake. What follows is a diverting Anecdote; in the height of the Mirth and Frolic of that famous Treat which *Meſſalina* gave her Lover, they cauſed a poor ſimple Fellow called *Valens* to get up into a Tree, and aſked him what he ſaw? *A Storm*, ſaid he, *which gathers in the Air, and comes from* Oſtia. Theſe Words

Words ſpoken by this blundering Fellow, ſpoiled preſently all their Sport, and caſt a deep Sadneſs into every Body, though uttered at random and without deſign; for they were a Prognoſtication of the Return of the Emperor, who arriving ſoon after, cauſed the Empreſs to be ſtabbed for her Lewdneſs. Theſe Strokes that have ſomething ſurprizing in them are very happy in Hiſtory.

TACITUS has no good Morals (he proceeds) he covers a bad Soul under a very fine Genius. He is miſtaken in true Merit, becauſe he thinks there can be no other than that of being cunning, and he always ſpeaks more out of Policy than according to Truth. He not only has ill Thoughts of his Neighbours, but he ſhews alſo no Piety nor Reverence for the Gods, as one may ſee in his Diſcourſe upon Fate againſt Providence, in the ſixth Book of his Annals, wherein he aſcribes all to the Stars and blind Chance, upon the Occaſion of *Traſullus*, one of *Tiberius*'s Aſtrologers, who was grown his Confidant at *Caprea*. So difficult it is for a bad Man to be a good Hiſtorian, for one has generally the ſame Principles with the other. *Tacitus* relates ſo many Obſcenities of *Tiberius*, that *Boccalinus*, cannot bear with him for it. He has a particular Way of deſcribing Things and Perſons, different from all the reſt, but he dwells too much on great Things, and will not deſcend to little ones, which are not always to be ſlighted. He thinks well, but he does not always hit upon a clear Expreſſion. He is ſometimes too much a Philoſopher. He is peremptory in his Deciſions upon every Thing, and ſpeaks as if the Fate of the

he World lay at his Mercy. He moralizes upon he Follies of others, that he may laſh every Body, and ſpeak ill of all Mankind. He has corrupted a great Number of People by creating in them a Deſire of ſtudying Politics, which is the moſt vain and uſeleſs of all Studies.

THIS Critic ſpeaks thus of this Hiſtorian, in another Place: *Tacitus*, ſays he, has an admirable Genius, but he generally tranſcends the Sublime; he is noble enough in his Thoughts, but is not natural in what he thinks; it is true he has abundance of Wit, but ſuch ſort of Wit that cannot ſpeak of plain Things in a plain manner, for he is ſtill politic and artificial in every Thing he ſays; his Work is not ſo much an Hiſtory as Reflections upon Hiſtory; he buſied himſelf in making Reflections, being foreſtalled by others, who left nothing new for him to ſay, which determined him to that Mode of Writing he purſued, wherein he ſucceeded, and made himſelf illuſtrious.

THE learned Author of the *Anonymiana*, or *Miſcellanies* of *Poetry*, *Oratory*, and *Learning*, has criticiſed the Character of this Hiſtorian with great Nicety, but I think with too little Candour. *Tacitus*, ſays he, was an able Politician, and a yet more judicious Writer; he has drawn very juſt Conſequences from the Tranſactions of the Reigns of which he wrote the Hiſtory, and has formed Maxims from them for the good Government of a State. But if he has ſometimes aſſigned to the Actions and Commotions of the Republic their true Principles, if he has rightly unravelled their Cauſes, it muſt be owned that he has often ſupplied with too much Nicety

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and Penetration thoſe Actions which had none? ſo true is it that Men characterize themſelves in whatever they do, and that the Writing of Hiſtory never is in the Hands in which it ought to be, when thoſe who undertake it, being ignorant of the true Cauſe of an Action, aſſign to it that Cauſe which they imagine to be the leaſt perceptible, and moſt concealed from the Eyes of the People. They often happen to repreſent that as a particular Secret in the Breaſt of the Prince, which was a Matter public to all the World. This is a Fault ſo familiar to *Tacitus*, that I preſume to aſſert, and could ſupport my Aſſertion by a great many good Reaſons, that it is paying him too great a Compliment to take him for a very exact Hiſtorian, who has written according to Rules.

HE has made Choice of the niceſt Actions, and the moſt ſuſceptible of the Delicacies of Art; thoſe Reigns in which he has principally applied himſelf in his Hiſtory are no ſmall Proof of this. In that of *Tiberius*, which is without Diſpute his Maſter-piece, and in which he has beſt ſucceeded, he found a Kind of Government more adapted to the Character of his Genius. He loved to unfold the Intrigues of the Cabinet, to aſſign their Cauſes, to turn Pretences into Deſigns, and deceitful Appearances into Realities. A Genius too ſubtile, who ſaw ſome Myſtery in all the Actions of this Prince. A ſincere Deference of his Deſigns to the Judgment of the Senate was ſometimes a Snare laid for their Integrity, ſometimes a nice Way of becoming their Maſter, and always the Art of making them the Accomplices of his Deſigns, and of executing

executing them without any Reproach. When he puniſhed the Seditious, it was an Effect of his natural Diffidence of the Citizens, or ſome ſlight Marks of Anger ſpread among the People to diſpoſe their Minds for greater Cruelties. Here the Contrariety of Humours of two Generals is the ſecret Method of croſſing the Fortune of a Competitor, and the Means to leſſen him in the Affections of the People. The Honours conferred on thoſe that deſerved them, were genteel Ways of removing a Rival, or of deſtroying an Enemy, and always fatal Recompences. In a Word, Policy has a Hand in every Thing; Vice and Virtue are there equally dangerous, and Favours as fatal as Diſgraces. *Tiberius* is never natural, he does not do the moſt ordinary Actions of other Men without Deſign; his Repoſe is never without Conſequence, and his Movements are always full of Contrivances.

TACITUS only touched upon Hiſtory occaſionally, he appears more an Orator than any thing elſe, his ſole Deſign was to exerciſe his Eloquence. He relates few Events; he makes long and frequent Digreſſions, and his Careleſſneſs and Affectation are too apparent. He acts the Part of an Orator, who ſeeks to applaud himſelf, and who turns and manages different Facts to his own Advantage. —— Even in their very Tents, in the middle of a Camp, or of an Army, dying Men make Speeches with the ſame Exactneſs and Preſence of Mind, which a Perſon in Health would be capable of ſhewing, if he were to compoſe them in his Study; ſometimes

times this Fondneſs for expatiating is ſo predominant, that he does not ſtay till a General of an Army is at the Head of his Troops to harangue them, but makes him write Orders like a Preceptor full of Antitheſes and Rhetorical Figures.

THE firſt five Books of the Annals were found in *Germany* by a Receiver of *Leo* the Tenth; that Pontiff having publiſhed a Brief, by which he promiſed not only Indulgence to thoſe who ſhould diſcover any Manuſcripts of *Tacitus*, but alſo Wealth and Honour; there was a *German* who ſearched all the Libraries, and at laſt found ſome Books of the Annals in the Abby of *Corwey*, a Monaſtery on the *Weſer*. He went and preſented them to the Pope, who received them with great Pleaſure, and aſked him what Recompence he deſired. The *German* was content to be reimburſed the Charges he had incurred in going to view thoſe Libraries, and in his Journey to *Rome*. *Leo* thought this too little, and gave him a Reward of five hundred Gold Crowns.

Beſt

Beſt EDITIONS of TACITUS.

Tacitus, cum Velleio Paterculo, commentariis Variorum & Notis *Car. Auberti*. *Pariſ.* 1608. Fol. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Tacitus, et Velleius Paterc. Comment. *Juſti Lipſii*. *Antwerp.* 1688. Fol. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Tacitus, in uſum ſereniſ. Delphini, Notis utiliſ. 4 vols. *Pariſ.* 1682. 4to.

Notis Variorum & *Joh. Frid. Gronovii*, 2 vols. *Elzev. Amſt.* 1672. 8vo. 1*l*. 1*s*.

Iterum ad verbum recuſus, 2 vols. *Amſt.* 1685. 8vo. 1*l*. 7*s*.

Tacitus, Animadverſionibus *Theod. Ryckii*, 2 vols. *Lug. Bat.* 1687. 12mo. 5*s*.

Tacitus, *Gronovii*, 2 vols. 4to. *Tr. ad Rhen.* 1721. 2*l*. 2*s*.

Tacitus, 3 vols. 8vo. *very correct*, *Dubl.* 1730. 15*s*.

Tacitus, 4 vols. 4to, *Brotier*, *Par.* 1771. 5*l*. 5*s*.

LUCIUS

LUCIUS ANNÆUS FLORUS.

THEY who place *Lucius Florus* under the Reign of *Trajan*, are obliged to correct that Paſſage in his Preface, where he ſays, there were little leſs than two hundred Years from *Auguſtus*'s Time to his. The moſt probable Opinion is, that he was of a little later Date: And it is believed, that the Poet *Florus*, whoſe Verſes *Spartianus* quotes in the Life of the Emperor *Adrian*, is the ſame of whom we now write, the Author of the Epitome of the *Roman* Hiſtory in four Books. The Verſes are in a very familiar Style:

Ego nolo Cæſar *eſſe*,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas *pati Pruinas.*

THE Emperor *Adrian* was no Stranger to Poetry, as may be ſeen by the pleaſant Anſwer which he returned:

Ego nolo Florus *eſſe*
Ambulare per Tabernas,
Latitare per Popinas,
Calices pati rotundos.

IT is obvious to obſerve, that the Phraſe of *Florus* is wholly poetical; and that the Love of *Parnaſſus*

Parnaſſus cauſed him ſometimes to employ Hemiſtics in his Periods. But though he ſeems very licentious in it, and his Diction and Expreſſions often ſavour more of a Declaimer than an Hiſtorian; yet we muſt affirm *Sigonius* to be unjuſt, when he ſtyles him an *impertinent Writer*. The Method obſerved by *Florus*, in giving an Account of the ſeveral Wars in a ſeparate Order, did not deſerve ſo ſevere a Cenſure; and it is evident that he was ever acknowledged to have been an eloquent Author, abounding with ſtriking Flowers of Oratory. He abounds every where with ingenious Maxims, with Thoughts expreſſed with the utmoſt Force and Vehemence. Believe me, ſays the learned *Colerus*, you will peruſe this terſe Production with no leſs Pleaſure than you would look upon one of the Pictures of *Apelles*; it is ſo well compoſed, and ſo elegant. I admire, ſays he, that Judgment, which could inſert conciſe Sentiments fraught with ſuch good Senſe, in ſuch a Maſs and Variety of Things; and excepting ſome few Paſſages which may be thought more frigid, in Compariſon of others, many refined Precepts are contained in what he writes, which could not be expreſſed in better Terms.

SOME doubt whether *Florus*, who compoſed the four Books above-mentioned, was the ſame who prefixed the Arguments to the Books of *Livy*'s Hiſtory. It is certainly a great Miſtake to believe, that he intended to epitomize the whole Hiſtory of *Livy* in his four Books; for he obſerves no Regard to his Method in various Places, but rather indulges his own Fancy. He is ſo extravagant in regard to Chronology, that

it is not ſafe to rely upon him. He is cenſured for contriving the Loſs of *Livy*'s Works, in order to raiſe the Value of his own Collections; but this Charge is without Foundation, and cannot be ſupported.

THERE are ſome, who ſuppoſe *Seneca* to be the Author of the compendious Hiſtory of *Florus*; becauſe *Lactantius*, in the ſeventh Book of his Divine Inſtitutions, mentions a Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire into four different Seaſons, aſcribing metaphorically to it *Infancy*, *Youth*, *Manhood* and *Old Age*; which he attributes to *Seneca*'s Invention. And becauſe the ſame Diviſion is to be found in the Preface to the Books of *Florus*, they would conclude *Seneca* to be the Author of them; and that the Name of *Florus* is falſe and ſuppoſititious. But theſe Authors are ſo different in their Way of Writing, that this Remark is not to be juſtified. *Seneca* makes the Youth or Adoleſcency of *Rome*, as he calls it, to reach to the End of the laſt *Punic* War; whilſt *Florus* makes it to continue but to the firſt. And *Seneca* begins its Old Age, when the Civil Wars aroſe between *Julius Cæſar* and *Pompey*; whereas *Florus* accounts it from the Eſtabliſhment of *Auguſtus* in the abſolute Power of the Empire. It is more reaſonable to believe, that *Lactantius* was miſtaken, than to imagine that all the Manuſcripts ſhould err, which have placed *L. Annæus Florus* in the Title of the Books we now mention. But perhaps *Florus* and *Seneca* being both of the ſame Family, that of the *Annæi*, it is poſſible their Names might by ſome means have been confounded; and that *Florus* was therefore ſometimes called *Seneca*, as he is

in ſome old Copies, where he is ſometimes diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Julius*. It is certain, that the Family of the *Annæi* has produced many excellent Perſons in various Branches of Literature: *Seneca* the Philoſopher, the Tragedian and Rhetorician, (if they are three) ſufficiently prove it; as well as the Poet *Lucan*, and our Hiſtoriographer *Florus*, whoſe Style retains ſomething of the Genius of the *Annæan* Writers, all born to be Maſters in Eloquence and Poetry.

THERE was another *Julius Florus*, more ancient than the Hiſtoriographer, who lived in *Tiberius's* Reign. *Seneca*, in his Controverſies, ſays, that he was inſtructed in the Art of Speaking by the Orator *Portius Latro*. And *Quintilian*, mentioning that *Florus*, ſays, he was the Prince of Eloquence, and the public Profeſſor of it in *Gaul*. They who reaſon from the Surname of *Julius*, (which, as was before obſerved, ſome Manuſcripts give him) imagine our Author was deſcended from that other *Florus*, of whom *Seneca* and *Quintilian* have made ſuch honourable mention. But this is meer Conjecture, too frivolous to deſerve further Conſideration.

AMONG the Licences *Florus* has aſſumed, there is one ſo poetical and ſtrangely hyperbolical, that *Scaliger* with reaſon blames him in his Commentaries upon *Euſebius*, for having in a miſtaken Zeal ſuffered himſelf to be led away by a mean and puerile Avidity of relating wonderful Things to the Prejudice of Truth. It is where he relates the Expedition of *Decimus Brutus* along the *Celtic*, *Galician* and *Portugueſe* Coaſts, and alledges that *Brutus* never ſtopped his victorious

Courſe till he beheld the Sun fall into the Ocean, and heard with Horror its Fire hiſſing in the Waters; which gave him a certain Apprehenſion of being ſacrilegious, and having done more than his Religion permitted. The ſame Deſire of writing ſomething marvellous, deſerves to be cenſured; where he ſpeaks of the Defeat of the *Cimbri* by *Marius*. He pretends that two young Men were ſeen in *Rome* near the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, preſenting to the *Prætor* Letters adorned with Laurel, as a ſure Token for a compleat Victory. I ſhall (ſays *La Mothe*) on this Occaſion lay down a Maxim, That if an Hiſtorian ſometimes inſerts any Thing in his Narration of ſo extraordinary a Nature, he ought at the ſame Time to ſignify the little Faith he has in it, and proteſt that he meerly reports it as a popular Rumour.

THE Hiſtory of *Florus* contains a Compendium of the *Roman* Affairs, from *Romulus* to the Time of *Trajan*, ſuccinctly and elegantly written. The Accuracy and Brevity of it are very often wonderful, and (as *Lipſius* obſerves) there are many ſhining Sentences like Jewels interſperſed throughout, both with Judgment and Truth. But at the ſame Time we may ſay with *Tan. Faber*, this acute and elegant Work is not to be read or eſteemed as a Hiſtory; but rather as a Panegyrick or Declamation, in commendation of the *Roman* Empire, and that mighty People. He is irregular in his Order of Time, and careleſs in the Names of Men and Officers; which often diſturbs his Senſe, and confounds the Reader. The Elegance of his Style is generally commended, and the Sprightlineſs

ſneſs of his Fancy has obtained him the Name of *The Witty Hiſtorian.*

Beſt EDITIONS *of* L. FLORUS.

Florus, a *Laur. Begero* Commentariis & Nummis illuſtratus. *Colon.* 1704. Fol. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Florus, in uſum ſereniſſ. Delphini editus eſt. *Pariſ.* 1674. 4to. 5*s.*

Notis Variorum, *Cl. Salmaſii, & Joh. Geo. Grævii.* Nummis illuſtr. *Trajecti.* 1680. 8vo. 5*s.*

Iterum, 2 vols. *Lugd. Bat.* 1702. 8vo. 5*s.*

Florus, Notis integris Varior. & *Car. Dakeri*, 2 vols. *Amſt.* 1722. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS.

CAIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS was a *Roman* by Birth; his Father *Suetonius Lenis* (a Sirname differing only in Sound from that which his Son bore) being by Extraction only a Gentleman in the middle Station of Life at *Rome*, was yet preferred to the Tribuneſhip of a Legion by the Emperor *Otho*, whoſe Party he eſpouſed againſt *Vitellius*. This Writer was born about the Beginning of the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, as may be collected from his own Words in the Life of *Nero*. His firſt Years, in all Probability, he paſſed at *Rome*; for he ſays, when he was a Youth he remembers to have ſeen an old Man of Ninety inſpected in open Court, whether he was circumciſed or not. Grown up to Manhood he betook himſelf to the Bar, where he practiſed with great Reputation; not but that he had a Tribune's Office given him, but whether it was that he diſliked a military Life, or that he underſtood not martial Affairs, he declined it; and before he was muſtered, by Means of his good Friend the younger *Pliny*, who procured the Place for him, he got it to be transferred to his Kinſman *Cæſennius Sylvanus*.

In pleading Cauſes, it was a great Hindrance to him that he was not the Father of Children,

there

there being a Law at *Rome* by which many Immunities and Privileges were given to ſuch: Some of theſe were a Freedom from bearing any Office which required perſonal Attendance, and a Precedence at the Bar, that their Motion might be firſt heard; very conſiderable Advantages to one in his Circumſtances. Now the Emperors had always a Power of granting the ſame to thoſe who were childleſs; but it being looked upon as contrary to Law, *Trajan*, who was an excellent Prince, beſtowed theſe Favours very ſparingly, and would not exceed his Number which the Senate had allowed. In this Caſe his old Friend *Pliny* ſolicits for him, and with Succeſs; and becauſe his Letter to the Emperor gives us a true Character of *Suetonius*, and is a great Inſtance of the ſtrict Friendſhip that was between them, I ſhall offer it to the Reader in *Engliſh*. It is the ninety-fifth Epiſtle of the tenth Book.

SIR,

"I HAVE lately taken into my Acquaintance *Suetonius Tranquillus*, a Man of great Probity, Honour and Learning, captivated by the Sweetneſs of his Converſation, and being much pleaſed with the Scope of his Studies; and ſtill the more intimate I became with him, and the more I know him, I love him the better. He has not been ſo fortunate in his Marriage, but that the Privilege of *three Children* is very neceſſary to him in his Buſineſs at the Bar, which in the Opinion of his

" Friends he well deſerves. By me he beſeeches
" you to ſupply what his adverſe Fortune has
" denied him. I know, Sir, the high Value
" of the Favour I requeſt, but I am begging of
" you, whoſe moſt bounteous Indulgence to all
" my Requeſts I have experienced. And you
" may gather with what Earneſtneſs I deſire this,
" becauſe if I had been cold in my Wiſhes, I
" would have ſtaid till I could have aſked it by
" Word of Mouth."

To this Letter *Trajan* gave an Anſwer to the Satisfaction of both Friends, conferring on *Suetonius* the Privilege he deſired. After the Death of *Trajan* he was made Secretary of State to the Emperor *Adrian*, which is an Evidence that he poſſeſſed beſides the Knowledge of great Affairs, a competent Capacity to deliver them in proper and apt Expreſſions. It is ſaid his Employment was taken from him becauſe of ſome private Familiarity he had with the Empreſs *Sabina*, or rather becauſe he had not treated her with proper Reverence and Reſpect; it is certain that *Adrian* had no great Regard for his Empreſs, and therefore ſeveral of his Courtiers took the Liberty to ſlight and affront her; among them *Septicius Clarus* and *Suetonius* carried this Affair to an Extremity, and were therefore turned out of their Places. But it happens ſometimes that particular Diſgraces are uſeful to the Public, as was evinced here, for his Fall, and the Leiſure he had in Conſequence of it, engaged him to a ſtudious Life, which has produced, among other Works, the Lives of the twelve

twelve *Cæſars*, which gives him a Place among the beſt Hiſtorians.

THE *Roman* Hiſtory is never mentioned without ſpeaking very advantageouſly of *Suetonius*: This Writer, ſays *Politian*, beſides his deſcriptive Art, which is admirable, has likewiſe given us plain Proof of his Diligence, Veracity, and Freedom; there is no Room for any Suſpicion of Partiality or Malignity in his Books; nothing is ſaid out of Favour, nor ſuppreſſed out of Fear; the Facts themſelves have engroſſed his whole Attention, and he has conſulted Truth in the firſt Place; by which it appears that his Work was framed, as *Thucydides* ſays, not for a tranſitory End, or to ſerve a preſent Purpoſe. He was ſo far from being influenced by the Motives of Fear or Favour to detract any Thing from the Truth, that he rather choſe not to write the Lives of *Nerva*, *Trajan*, and *Adrian*, the Emperor of his Time, than to incur any Hazard by ſpeaking unfavourably of the Perſons then alive, or to ſeem leſs free and impartial by extolling his Superiors. I very often, ſays *Lipſius*, recommend *Suetonius Tranquillus* to Youth, and not without Reaſon; if you examine his Words, they are pure, neat, proper; if the whole Contexture of his Diſcourſe, it is conciſe and nervous; if you conſider his Subject, it is both an uſeful and pleaſant Hiſtory; and, which chiefly weighs with me, it is full of Morality and ancient Learning. *Vopiſcus* ſtyles him a moſt correct and candid Writer; *Sidonius Apollinaris* ſays he was inexpreſſibly fine, and *Auſonius* that he was extremely elegant; *Ludovicus Vives* prefers him for Diligence and Fide-

ty to all the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers. He ſeems, ays he, to have written the Lives of the twelve *Cæſars* with great Integrity, becauſe he conceals not the Vices or Suſpicions of Vices in the very beſt Princes, nor does he diſſemble the Traits of Virtue in the worſt. St. *Jerom* profeſſes himſelf to have made *Suetonius* his Pattern when he wrote the Lives of thoſe illuſtrious Men, who ſucceeded the Times of the Apoſtles; and *Eraſmus* gives his Teſtimony, I ſuppoſe it is on all Hands agreed among the Learned, that for what relates to the Truth of Hiſtory, the firſt place is due to *Suetonius*, who, as one pleaſantly and juſtly remarked, *wrote the Lives of the* Cæſars *with the ſame Freedom with which they led them.*

BESIDES his *Cæſars*, we have Part of his Treatiſe of the illuſtrious Grammarians, and the Rhetoricians, and ſome Remains of another, which contained the Lives of the Poets; for the Life of *Terence* is almoſt all of *Suetonius*'s Writing, as *Donatus* himſelf confeſſes, who adds ſomething to it. The Lives of *Horace*, *Juvenal*, *Lucan*, and *Perſeus*, are probably of the ſame Compoſition. We are not to believe that what is extant of the Elder *Pliny*'s Life, under the Name of *Suetonius*, is of his Writing; and if the Style were no Objection, the Phraſe is enough to diſcover it to be of a more modern Contexture. *Suetonius* was too much a Friend to the Younger *Pliny* to ſpeak ſo coldly, and ſay ſo little of his Uncle, who was a moſt worthy Perſon. One may read in *Aulus Gellius*, and others, the Titles of ſeveral Compoſitions of *Suetonius*, which we have loſt; as that of the *Games*, and *Spectacles* or *Shews* repreſented by the *Romans*. The Repu

lic of *Cicero*; an Account of the illuſtrious Families of *Rome*, and many others.

THE Style of this Writer, ſays *Celerus*, is conciſe and nervous, and no Man has more diligently repreſented the public Rites. He is moſt exact and candid, and not enſlaved to any Man; for who ever wrote the Temper or Humours and Manners of Princes with a greater Freedom? Courtiers and Stateſmen may from hence reap much Advantage, and may alſo from *Suetonius* at the ſame Time learn to deteſt Flattery.

THERE are ſome Critics who affirm that the Beginning of the firſt Book of his *Cæſars* is wanting, and their Opinion is founded upon the Improbability that *Suetonius* ſhould have written nothing of the Birth and firſt Years of *Julius Cæſar*, when he took the Pains to ſearch into the Original and Education of eleven other Emperors who ſucceeded him, whoſe Lives he has deſcribed. *Muret* in his Oration upon *Tacitus* is ſomewhat ſevere: It were to be wiſhed, ſays he, that we had not from *Suetonius* learned ſo many Enormities and ſhameful Vices as he declares to have been practiſed by the *Tiberii*, *Nerones*, and *Caligulæ*. They are, ſays he, ſo filthy, that they almoſt make the Paper bluſh, upon which they are repreſented. And if what one of the Ancients ſays be true, that there is but little Difference between him who deſcribes ſuch Infamy with Care, and he who teaches it, *Suetonius* cannot be excuſed without difficulty, for acting ſuch a Part as he did. And to augment his Charge, he is accuſed of having uſed the *Chriſtians* ill, calling them a Sort of Men who embraced a new and miſchievous Superſtition, which occaſioned

their Perſecution in the Time of *Nero*. But if it be a Crime in him, what Hiſtorians of Repute can be excuſed, who have repreſented the wicked Actions of thoſe of whom they write, which make the greateſt and often the moſt conſiderable part of the Narration? Does not the ſacred Hiſtory itſelf ſhew us Parricides, Inceſts, Idolatry, and many other Profanations among the beſt Examples, and the moſt divine Inſtructions? And ought we not to caſt into the Fire all the Books of thoſe Pagans who have written ſince the Beginning of Chriſtianity, if what they delivered againſt our Religion ſhould make us abſolutely condemn it?

THE Objection againſt *Suetonius* for being ſo particular in deſcribing the lewd Actions and horrid Debaucheries of many of the *Cæſars* is ſtrongly repreſented by *Muretus*. It is certain, ſays he, that many of the *Cæſars* lived in the height of Looſeneſs and Debauchery, what Praiſe is it then for any Man to have equalled their Crimes by the Immodeſty of his Deſcription, and to have ſet before the Eyes of Men in obſcene and indelicate Words their vile Actions, which ſhould rather have been buried in perpetual Oblivion? You find nothing more frequently mentioned in *Suetonius* than Catamites, and the Authors of unnatural Luſts. *Sporus* married to *Nero*, and *Nero* to *Doryphorus*. He does not even forget the Expreſſions which they made uſe of in the middle of their Crimes, as if it concerned Poſterity to know theſe Things, the bare Mention of which ſhould make not only the Author but the Paper itſelf to bluſh. Nevertheleſs he inſiſts upon them ſo minutely and particularly,

particularly, as if he had a Mind to teach them: We find nothing like this in *Tacitus*; he either paſſes over ſuch Things, or he hints at them in ſuch a Manner as ſhews his Hatred and Abhorrence, but does not eagerly dwell upon them as the other does. Wherefore let *Suetonius* ſhine among the *Vopiſci*, the *Spartiani*, the *Lampridii*, and other Writers of Lives of that ſort; in this he is preferable to them, that the Age in which he lived gave him an Opportunity of writing in a better *Latin* Style than they; but if he ſhould aſpire to the Glory of *Tacitus*, or dare to compare himſelf with him, he would be cenſured by all learned Men. I for my Part look upon *Suetonius* to be no leſs hurtful to young People than the reading of *Catullus* or *Martial*. Nay, I think it even dangerous to Men of a ripe Age. This is a ſevere Remark. It muſt be allowed that this Writer gave a great deal of Liberty to his Pen, the Inquiries he made into the Vices of the *Cæſars* were very ſingular; nevertheleſs he was a Man of approved Morals, and of great Virtue.

THE particular Account, ſays *Bayle*, that *Suetonius* gives of the Debauchery of the Emperors is no Proof that he was a lewd Man; or that he took delight in deſcribing lewd Actions, nor in general that there was any Thing wanting in his Probity and Honeſty; it ſhews only that he was a very ingenuous and ſincere Writer, and that he believed an Hiſtorian ought faithfully to relate the Truth of all Events he can diſcover; and thoſe who are never ſo little qualified to judge of the Character of an Author by his Way of writing, will be of Opinion that *Suetonius* was only directed by his ſingular and natural Ingenuity,

nairy, and not by a Deſire of inflaming the Paſſions. It ought to be preſumed, that he deſigned to puniſh Vice as much as an Hiſtorian can puniſh it, and to brand the Memory of thoſe Monſters, by tranſmitting it to future Ages, attended with all the Execration it deſerves, and that he thought ſuch a Method might in Time prevent the like Brutalities.

I MUST not forbear mentioning that thoſe who are willing to know the Date of each Event are very much diſpleaſed with *Suetonius*. This Hiſtorian has wholly neglected it; he does not obſerve any Chronological Order, and indeed it was no Part of his Deſign; and it is to be obſerved, he is very excuſable for fixing upon a Plan of Writing which did by no means require ſuch a Method. There were Hiſtories enough which contained an exact Account of the Reign of the Emperors according to the Time in which every Thing has been done, and therefore he did not think it proper to compoſe a Work of the ſame Nature, but rather choſe to relate the Actions of the Emperors in their moſt private Scenes and Retirements.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* SUETONIUS.

Suetonius Notis Variorum & *Joh. Schildii*, accedunt Icones Impp. *Lugd. Bat.* 1667. 8vo. 5*s.*

Notis & Numiſmatibus illuſtratus a *Car. Patino. Baſil.* 1675. 4to. 5*s.*

Notis integris *Iſ. Caſauboni*, *Læv. Torrentii*, *Joh. Geo. Grævii*, & ſelectis aliorum. æneis fig. *Hagæ Com.* 1691. 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Notis Variorum & *Sam. Pitiſci*, 2 vols. æneis figuris. *Lugd. Bat.* 1692. 8vo. 12*s.*

Suetonius, auctioribus *Sam. Pitiſci* Notis, & multis figuris illuſt. 2 vols. *Leovard.* 1714. 4to. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

Suetonius, Notis *Burman*, 4to. 1*l.* 16*s.*

Suetonius, curâ *Oudendorp*, a moſt excellent and accurate Edition, 8vo. *L. Bat.* 1751. 10*s.* 6*d.*

PLINIUS JUNIOR.

CAIUS PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS was born, about ſixty-two Years after Chriſt, at *Novo-Comum*, a Town of *Italy*, eminent for nothing ſo much as for being the Place of Birth of ſo great a Man; however, by his grateful Munificence it was ſoon made more populous and conſpicuous by the Encouragement he there gave to the Inhabitants in erecting a public School, which he liberally endowed, and annexed to it a Library well furniſhed with Books.

HE was the Son of *L. Cæcilius* by a Siſter of *Pliny*, the Natural Hiſtorian. He loſt his Father while young, who for aught we know left him no other Legacy but that of a good Example. His widowed Mother, deſtitute of the Means of Education, delivered him up to his learned and wealthy Uncle, who yet reſolved, if degenerate in Principles and Genius, not to own him allied in Blood. This Trial was ſoon made, and the Youth ſtood the Teſt. For by a vigilant Obſervance of his Inclinations and Deportment, the old Gentleman was ſo well ſatisfied, that according to the Cuſtom of their Laws he adopted him into a nearer Relation, and at his Death (occaſioned by the Eruptions of *Veſuvius*) left him Heir of his Name and Fortunes.

Fortunes. But before this Caſualty he had been very provident for the Inſtitution of his Nephew. He aſſigned him firſt to *Quintilian* that great Maſter of Eloquence, who transfuſed into him all thoſe Precepts which hitherto ſo richly oblige the World, and he found him ſo acute, ſo tractable, that he never ſaw Reaſon to ſtimulate his Induſtry, or rectify his Apprehenſion; he had in him the exalted Satisfaction of a docile Learner, and the only Danger was, leſt his Jealouſy might have checked that Forwardneſs he was ſurprized at, and made him inclinable to ſuſpect that from his Scholar he would ſoon commence his Rival. But he preferred his Duty before any envious Regards, and it is certain did not only initiate him in the Elements of that Art he profeſſed, but gave him Directions for methodizing all his future Studies; which the obedient Pupil ſo embraced, that when emancipated from his more immediate Diſcipline, he ſtill copied his Preſcriptions, and conformed to that Model which was held up to him by ſo able an Architect. As appears particularly from his ſo often running through the Decads of *Livy*, which was a Taſk no Queſtion enjoined him by his great Inſtructor, who always betrayed a ſingular Affection for this Author, and in his moſt excellent Inſtitutions recommends him as moſt worthy of a repeated Peruſal.

WHEN thus inſtructed in Rhetoric he was now ripe for a Courſe in Philoſophy, and to enter upon this under as expert a Guide as he had attained the former, he was delivered to the Tuition of *Nicetes*, a learned Prieſt. Under his

his Government he made ſo great a Proficiency, that his Uncle with Joy perceived he was fitted both by Years and Learning to reap the Advantages and conquer the Inconveniences of travelling abroad, which he well knew was compleating his Education. With theſe Hopes he diſpatched him to *Syria*, which was then as much the common School of Literature as *Egypt* had been before. Yet the wary old Uncle would not truſt him with a Diſpoſal of his own Time, but leſt too great a Leiſure might expoſe him to ſuch Temptations which he ſhould not ſtrive to reſiſt, he provided him an Employ, and entered him a Volunteer, where he ſerved, as if Arms were to be his Diverſion, not his Trade; and therefore he was oft allowed Leave to retire from the Camp to his Studies, in which he had the moſt eminent Director thoſe Countries could afford, the famous *Euphrates*, whoſe Lectures he attended, and was poſſibly the greateſt Encourager, if not the ſole Motive, of his Removal afterwards to *Rome*.

WHEN by a Viſit of the moſt remarkable Places, an Obſervance of their Policy, and a Maſtery of the Language, he had compleatly anſwered the Deſign of his going Abroad, he prepared to depart, and fraught with thoſe Accompliſhments which are the richeſt Furniture of a Traveller, he returned to his expecting Friends; but before he had lived long with his Mother and Uncle, he loſt the latter, by whoſe Death at Eighteen Years of Age he ſucceeded to a plentiful Eſtate. Among other Legacies, that which he moſt valued was a hundred and ſixty Volumes of his Uncle's Works, filled

filled up in the Margin, and written on the very Covers, all by his own Hand; for which, when their Number was ſomewhat leſs, he had in *Spain* been offered four hundred thouſand Seſterces. The Compilation of theſe argued him an indefatigable Student, and being ſo ſevere an Accountant of his own Time, he might leſs invidiouſly urge others to an Improvement of theirs, which his Nephew aſſures us was his conſtant Humour; he was always lecturing him into Induſtry, and was ſo impatient of his leaſt Remiſſions from Study, that ſeeing him one Day walking, (and poſſibly intent on the Recollection of what he had lately read) he chid him for ſo idle a Diverſion, and ſharply told him he might be better employed. So that this Method of a ſedentary Intenſeneſs might probably firſt have been taken up by our young Student out of a Deſign to oblige the old Man, till it paſſed from a conſtrained Cuſtom to a ſettled Habit, from an aſſiduous Practice to a voluntary Inclination. It is worth the Paine to relate, that he gave one notorious Inſtance of it. When his Uncle at *Mycenæ* in a Surprize at the Inflammation of *Veſuvius*, was ſailing out to take a nearer Proſpect of the Danger, he comes and aſks his Nephew to accompany him in that, which proved his laſt Journey; but he bluntly waves the Invitation, and fairly tells him he had rather continue at his Books: Though he durſt not without doubt have been ſo rough to one whoſe Years might ſuppoſe him peeviſh, and yet whoſe Favour it was ſo much his Intereſt to retain, if he had not foreſeen it would be ſo far from being re-

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ſented as a Contempt or Affront, that it would be the moſt pleaſing Compliment he could poſſibly return.

HE had not been long entered upon his new Inheritance before his Plan of Settlement was directed to *Rome*, where he fixed his Reſidence, not becauſe the Town and the Court might be moſt opportune for a Stage of Pleaſure and Diverſion, but that he thought here was the moſt advantageous Baſis to build his future Fortunes. He would not commence Beau or Gallant, but ſenſible that the beſt Huſbandry of his Revenues would be the Purchaſe of a good Name, he toiled ſo hard in Retirement, and relaxed himſelf ſo well in Company, that he ſoon gained the Repute of a ſenſible and ſolid Scholar. The moſt early Specimen of his Parts he had given in the Compoſure of a *Greek* Tragedy at fourteen Years of Age, in which he ſo happily acquitted himſelf in the proper Genius of Sublime, in the true Dignity of the Buſkin, that he ſurpaſſed his Years. A Succeſs in this ſoon urged him on to freſh Attempts, and in his Voyage from *Syria* about Seventeen, he attempted *Latin* Elegiacs in the *Icarian* Sea, which we need not doubt were ſoft and ſmooth. But he knew theſe were juvenile Sports, which it would be fatal to be addicted to, and therefore when he had enough for bare Accompliſhment, reſolved to make no Employ of what had Poverty and Affectation entailed for a Curſe; he was not ſo fond of the Beggar or the Fop, but that he ſteered his Endeavours to a more honourable Port, and applied himſelf to a Study of the Civil Law; in this he ſoon became ſo hopeful

hopeful a Proficient, that upon a ſhort Preparation he was called to the Bar, and before twenty appeared for his Client in the *Roman Forum*, where his Pleadings were ſo elaborate, and his Delivery ſo becoming, that there was ſcarce afterwards any Cauſe of Moment wherein he was not by one of the Parties retained.

FROM the *Forum* he advanced to the Senate, and could argue before that Auguſt Aſſembly with as much Courage as he had done in the more inferior Courts. And here he was engaged in ſeveral of the moſt important Concerns, as the Management of the *Spaniards* Charge againſt *Bebius Maſſa*, the proſecuting of their Informations againſt *Cæcilius Claſſicus*, the Defence and Acquitment of *Julius Baſſus* and *Varenus*; and what was moſt eminent, he opened the Impeachment of *Marius Priſcus* Proconſul of *Africa*, charged by the Province with Bribery and Extortion; in the urging of this he was ſo ſpirited and reſolute, ſo eager and vehement, that the kind Emperor more than once ordered the Freeman to whiſper and adviſe his Maſter that he ſhould not injure his Lungs, nor exhauſt his Spirits, nor injure his Conſtitution; however, with humble Thanks for the Caution, he zealouſly proceeded, and ſo expoſed the Caſe, that the Senate confeſt themſelves ſatisfied, and the Criminal was ſentenced to perpetual Baniſhment.

HE was too eminent to be thought uſeleſs, and therefore his Country ſoon propoſed to experience his Abilities in ſome more public Station. Hence he was honoured with a Commiſſion to ſuperviſe the Repairs of the *Æmilian* Way. He was a ſplendid *Prætor* for the City, a zealous *Tribune* for

for the People, a faithful *Queſtor* for the Emperor, a *Prefect* of the Treaſury for the State, and an *Augur* of the Gods. But his moſt active Preferments were his Proconſular Dignity in *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and his Conſulſhip at *Rome*; in the former (which was laſt executed) he held a conſtant Correſpondence with his Imperial Maſter *Trajan*, and took all his Meaſures from his Advice, which he conformed to with ſo much Reſolution and Diſpatch, that he won the Affections of his Province, countermined the Malice of his Enemies, and for ever ſecured the Favour of his Prince.

IT was from hence he dated that generous Teſtimony and Character he gave the *Chriſtians*; for it being the erroneous Notion of *Trajan* that this growing Sect would interrupt and diſturb the Peace of his Empire, he had given Inſtructions to all his Miniſters to ſuppreſs them by a ſevere Perſecution. Our Proconſul knew theſe Orders muſt be obeyed through the Extent of his Juriſdiction; yet he thought it not impertinent to give his honoured Lord ſome Account of the Principles and Behaviour of the Men, before he went on to the extremeſt Rigour: In this Deſcription we may be ſure he ſpoke as a candid Relater, not as a biaſſed Friend, and indeed the Danger of being partial was on the other hand; for he abhorred the Scandal of leaning to that *New Superſtition*, and he wrote to one whom it was proper for him to ſoothe, which yet he could not better do than by confirming that Prejudice he had ſo devoutly entertained. But notwithſtanding theſe Inducements, it was his Honour to ſpeak the Truth, and it was his Maſter's Vi-

cue to hear it. He therefore declares, *That their only Crime, or rather Miſtake was, that they aſſembled before Day to ſing a Form of Devotions to* Chriſt *as to a God, in which they bound themſelves by an Oath not to violate the* Roman *Laws, not to perpetrate any Villanies, but to avoid Theft, Robbery, Adulteries, and Breach of Faith. When they had done this, they never directed their Thoughts to conſpire and cabal, but departed quietly to their reſpective Homes.* And this ſo much calmed the exaſperated *Trajan*, that he remitted his Paſſion, and returned Anſwer, that *they ſhould not be reſtrained nor inquired after, but if proſecuted by others ſhould have Juſtice and a fair Trial.* Yet was this a Conceſſion he would never have made, had he not been fully convinced that they were neither ſeditious nor diſaffected, as he at firſt ſurmiſed. For indeed, there was no one Emperor more provident in cruſhing the Growth of Faction, as will appear by this ſingle Inſtance. *Pliny* had petitioned him that there might be a Corporation of Mechanics founded by Charter at *Nicomedia*; but the prudent Prince, though it ſeemed but a trivial Requeſt, and aſked by ſuch a Favourite, whom he was not wont to deny, yet he gives him this one Repulſe, and aſſigned no other Reaſon, than that ſuch Societies were always prone to Faction, and were the common Nurſeries of riotous and diſcontented Spirits.

When he had diſcharged his Government with no Unhappineſs attending him, but that of Envy, he comes back to *Rome*, and is gratified with an humble Addreſs from his Dependants, an hearty Welcome from his Friends, and

and a gracious Reception from his Prince. But antecedent to this honourable Employ abroad, had been his Conſulſhip at home, an Office of which his exact Art of Conduct had proclaimed him worthy; to this immediately ſucceeded his Prefectſhip of the Treaſury, to which the Emperor recommended, and the People in Duty accepted him. And to ſweeten the Enjoyments of it he was bleſt with a Collegue, who was Partner of his Thoughts, as well as his Dignity, the good *Tertullus*. It was in theſe Circumſtances, that he delivered his *Panegyric* in a full Senate, with a venerable Aſpect, and deliberate Voice. It took him three Days to rehearſe it.

IT was not from this Inſtance only, but from a long Series of Duty and Fidelity, that he was ſo in Favour with his Prince, as upon an humble Motion to procure any reaſonable Act of Grace; yet he made Uſe of this Power not to advantage himſelf, but to ſerve his Friends. And the Emperor, as ſound a Politician as any that flouriſhing State was ever crowned with, thought it no Reflection on his Government, to have a wiſe and worthy Favourite, and therefore let him command what Courteſies he pleaſed to intreat. His Opportunities to ſerve his Dependants were by this Means frequent, and the Grants conſiderable. He got for his Phyſician *Harpocrates*, for *Cryſippus*, and other Foreigners, the Freedom of *Rome*: He obtained for the Children of *Antonia*, and other hopeful Perſons, the Name and Privilege of Gentlemen. He advanced *Sura* to the Prætorſhip, and his Chamberlain, *Voconius*, to ſeveral ſucceſſive Dignities.

NOR

Nor was it only at the Emperor's Expence that he maintained his Friends, but where they were indigent and ready to accept, he would as freely ſpend from his own Stock, wherein his Bounty was always unconditional; he never (ſays Dr. *Kennet*, from whom this Life is chiefly extracted) had ſiniſter Views in Civilities, nor tampered with others by Means of his Favours, yet were his Largeſſes rich and munificent. He ſettled on his decayed Townſman *Caninius Rufus* a handſome Salary for Encouragement and Support in a ſtudious Life. He allowed *Martial* a comfortable Penſion to maintain him in a country Retirement. *Metilius Criſpus* he ſent to a good Military Employ abroad, and gave him a large Sum at parting to bear his Charges. To *Voconius Romanus* he gave three thouſand Seſterces to make him up a Gentleman's Eſtate, and to his Maſter *Quintilian*, at the Marriage of his Daughter, he ſent fifty thouſand Seſterces, as a Portion for the Bride.

Thoſe whom he embraced as Friends were not his Neighbours and Relations only, but all the moſt eminent in each Faculty and Science. Of Poets he had *Martial* and *Silius Italicus*, the firſt a Prince in *Epigram*, the ſecond a Peer in *Heroic*. Of Hiſtorians he had both *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*; he took the former for a Confident, and admitted the latter for a Companion. Of Civilians he ſelected *Pomponius Saturninus*, *Arrianus*, and what others were the moſt celebrated Oracles of the Law. To theſe he opened his Soul, and was as privy to all their Concerns. He loved their Perſons, courted their Society,

and eſpouſed their Intereſt, without any diſingenuous Reſervations of Craft or Deſign.

HIS Eſtate was ſo conſpicuous, and his Manners ſo endearing, that he was ſure to be courted from the Selfiſhneſs of a ſingle Life, an Alteration of which was poſſibly more a Compliance with the Importunity of others, than any Vehemence of his own Inclinations; however, he had Choice of offers, and Judgment to ſelect the beſt. Of his firſt Wife we have but an obſcure Mention; his ſecond was *Calphurnia*, whom Dowry and Parentage rendered an equal Match: Her he admitted to his Heart as well as Bed, and for an Inſtance of his Fondneſs, has left us a Pair of uxorious, yet chaſte Epiſtles. It was the only Misfortune he ever complained of, that he had no Iſſue by either of them.

THIS Unhappineſs he contrived by the moſt availing Method to repair; for indeed he ſeemed in nothing to betray a ſtronger Impetuoſity of Deſire, than to have his Name and Memory outlive his Funeral; and therefore he got not only a grateful Celebration from *Martial*, and by a Hint of his own, an honourable Mention from *Tacitus*, but tempted Eternity with many of his own Works, which deſerved a longer Duration than moſt of them have met with. Beſide his *Greek* Tragedy and Elegies, in his Voyage from *Syria*, he wrote a Book of Hendecaſyllables; another of Demonſtrative Orations; ſome Reflections on the Self-Murder of *Helvidius*: A Collection of Epiſtles, and a Panegyric upon the Emperor, of which the two laſt only are reſcued from that Oblivion which has ſwallowed the other.

WHEN

WHEN he was ſatiated with the Buſineſs and Adulation of the Town, he would oft retire to his Country Seats, of which he had two moſt elegantly ſituated, the one his *Laurentine*, the other his *Tuſcan* Farm; where, in Imitation of the Primitive Conſuls and Dictators, he read Nature in the Cultivations of Huſbandry, and thought his Dignity ſo far from being ſtained by it, that he gave a Waggon for his Coat of Arms.

WE have better Proof how he lived than when he died; we have a moral Certainty for the one, but muſt be content with Conjecture for the other. His laſt Epiſtles ſeem to be thoſe from *Pontus* to the Emperor, and after his giving up this honourable Truſt, we hear nothing conſiderable of his Actions from himſelf, or any other Hiſtorian. It is recorded, that his Imperial Patron reſigned his Life about the Year of Chriſt (if *Euſebius* compute right) 119; whom it is likely he had no great Ambition to ſurvive; and therefore we may preſume he left the World ſoon after the Loſs of that Comfort which had been moſt effectual to have detained him in it. Yet ſome (I imagine on more preſumptuous Grounds) date his Death in the twelfth of *Trajan*'s Reign: It is certain, that *Euſebius* then mentions the Deceaſe of a *Pliny*, but doubtleſs he means *Pliny* the Elder.

THIS Writer (ſays *Kennet*) gained not only a fluent Style, and a plauſible Delivery, which are but the Mechaniſm of Oratory, but he had ſuch an accurate Idea of Things, knew ſo well their apt Repreſentation by Words, and underſtood ſo completely the Influence of each

Period on the Soul, that he ſtill married his Expreſſions to his Argument, always reconciled his Auditory to his Subject, and never ſpoke but to thoſe Paſſions he raiſed. He could inſtruct a Friend, that an Invention copious, and a free Elocution, might haply be the Talents of an illiterate Confidence; but an orderly Diſpoſure, a due Turn of Figures, a critical Mode of Tranſition, and ſuch other Secrets of Art were only Acquirements of the laborious and learned. Yet it was one of his Maxims, that Uſe was the beſt Rhetorician; he having known many who had neither Parts nor Reading, yet by aſſiduous Practice had talked often till they ſpoke well.

HE was ſuch an Artiſt, continues the Doctor, at the Variance of Expreſſions, that almoſt in the ſame Breath he could be fuller, and more acute, grave and flouriſhing, ſo that his Cadencies made a Diſſonance of Muſic, being always unequal. His Endeavours herein, by Confeſſion to a Friend, were, that he might ſo contrive it, that by a different turning of Periods, he would have ſomewhat to affect the moſt ſingular Reliſh of each peculiar Palate, yet where his Subject required a ſteady even Pace, he would never range, but keep devoutly to each Scheme of Languages, which is only proper to each diſtinct Compoſition. Undoubtedly he was an accurate Maſter of all Styles, and ſeemed moſt happy in the moſt difficult, that of the Sublime; for the Exerciſe of which, he had that Argument which the great *Longinus* implied to be the moſt ſuitable, that of Panegyric.

Wherein

Wherein he completely ſhunned thoſe Vices which ſo nearly adjoin Affectation and Flatneſs. He could fly without ſoaring, and again walk without creeping; he could reach where it was proper, and ſtoop where it was more becoming.

MR. *Toland* thus delivers the Character of *Pliny:* For what we call a happy Turn, Delicacy of Expreſſion, and ſpeaking only to the Buſineſs in Hand, no Modern comes near to him; no more than in the Variety of his Subjects, ſuch as Intrigues of State, Points of Literature, and Hiſtory, Queſtions in Natural Philoſophy, rural Pleaſures, the Concerns of his Friends, and ſome Trifles which he renders important.

THE Character of this Claſſic is touched with greater Delicacy and Exactneſs by Mr. *Blackwell. Pliny* the Younger is one of the fineſt Wits that *Italy* has produced; he is correct and elegant, has a florid and gay Fancy, tempered with Maturity and Soundneſs of Judgment. Every Thing in him is exquiſitely ſtudied, and yet in general ſpeaking every Thing is natural and eaſy. In his incomparable Oration in Honour of *Trajan*, he has frequent and ſurpriſing Turns of true Wit, without playing and tinkling upon Sounds: He has exhauſted the Subject of Panegyric, uſing every Topic and every Delicacy of Praiſe.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* PLINY *the* YOUNGER.

Plinii Epiſtolæ, Notis Variorum. *Lugd. Bat.* 1669. 8vo. 16*s.*

Panegyricus, Notis Varior. *Lug. Bat.* 1684. 8vo. 3*s.*

Epiſtolæ, Notis integris Variorum & *Got. Cortii. Amſt.* 1734. 4to. 15*s.*

Plinii Panegyricus, Notis Integris Variorum & *Joh. Arntzenii. Amſt.* 1738. 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Epiſtolæ & Panegyr. Notis *Tho. Hearne. Oxon.* 1703. 8vo. 3*s.*

Plinii Epiſtolæ & Panegyricus, *Geſner*, by far the beſt Edition of *Pliny* yet publiſhed, 8vo. *Gottingæ et Lipſiæ*, 1739.

M. JUNIANUS

M. JUNIANUS JUSTINUS.

THIS Writer is ſuppoſed to have lived in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, and has made himſelf famous by abridging the Hiſtory written by *Trogus Pompeius*: His Hiſtory begins at *Ninus*, Founder of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, and comes down to the Time of *Auguſtus*; but this Work, to the great Misfortune of the learned World, is loſt, and its Loſs is attributed to the Abridgment, which being written in a polite and elegant Style, was very probably the Reaſon why that Age neglected the Original, and uſing this only, their Succeſſors totally ſlighted that. Nor is there any one, ſays *Voſſius*, among the *Latins*, who has more politely and elegantly contracted the Hiſtory of ſo many Empires; for he comprehends the Actions almoſt of all Nations, from *Ninus* to *Auguſtus*.

IT is eaſy to hazard a probable Conjecture at the Time when *Trogus Pompeius* lived, by what he hath ſaid in his forty-third Book, of his Parents, who came from *Gallia Narbonenſis*; where he declares his Grandfather to be made a Citizen of *Rome* by the Favour of *Pompey* the Great (whoſe Sirname probably he took) during the Wars of *Sertorius*; and that his Father, after he had borne Arms under *Caius Cæſar* (who is here ſuppoſed to be the firſt Emperor who bore

that Name rather than *Caligula)* had the Honour to be his Secretary, and jointly to keep his Seal. It is therefore thought that *Trogus Pompeius* wrote his Hiſtory under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, having ſpoken of the former at the End of the whole Work. It was divided into forty-four Books, whoſe Number *Juſtin* has not changed any more than their Title, which was the *Philippic* Hiſtory, becauſe (as it appears from the ſeventh to the one-and-fortieth Book) it was a continued Narrative of the *Macedonian* Empire, which owed its riſe to *Philip* the Father to *Alexander* the Great. *Theopompus* had written before fifty eight Books called *Philippics*, which are quoted by *Athenæus* and *Diodorus*, and by ſome accounted the Model which *Trogus Pompeius* followed, as *Cicero* imitating *Demoſthenes*, named his Orations *Philippics* with much leſs Reaſon.

IT is the received Opinion, that *Juſtin* made his Epitome (as was before ſaid) under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, to whom it is ſuppoſed he dedicated it, by his Preface, *Quod ad te, Imperator* Antonine, *non tam cognoſcendi quam emendandi causâ tranſmiſi.* I know the Paſſage wherein that Emperor is mentioned, is differently interpreted, and ſome have been perſuaded that he wrote after the Eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* Empire in *Conſtantinople*, becauſe of a Paſſage in the Eighth Book, where he ſpeaks of the Sovereign Power of *Greece.* Græciam *etiam nunc, & viribus & dignitate, orbis terrarum Principem.* But that Expreſſion may admit other Interpretations, without a Neceſſity of making him live two hundred Years later than he did, and in an Age which produced nothing ſo polite and elegant

gant as all we have of this Author is. It is ridiculous to confound this Writer with *Juſtin* the Martyr, as one *Martin* a *Polander* does in his Chronicle; for the Manner in which the Hiſtorian treats the *Iſraelites* in his ſix-and-thirtieth Book, ſhews him to be an Heathen. This Epitomizer of *Trogus* is cenſured by ſome, for introducing a few Digreſſions in a Work ſo conciſe and ſhort as the Hiſtory he writes. The firſt is found in the Beginning of his ſecond Book, where the *Scythians* and *Egyptians* have a Debate on a Point of Honour, in what relates to their Antiquity, both of them pretending to have ſufficient Reaſons to call themſelves the moſt ancient People of the Earth: The ſecond is in the twentieth Book, on the Subject of *Pythagoras*, whoſe Birth, Voyages, Learning, Virtues and Death he deſcribes, without forgetting the Misfortune which happened to his Diſciples, threeſcore of whom were burnt in *Croton*, and the reſt exiled. Whence one may conclude, ſays *La Mothe*, that all ſorts of Digreſſions are not to be condemned, when ſo eminent an Author as *Juſtin*, who contracted in ſo little a Space, the Hiſtory of the Tranſactions of two thouſand Years, (which are reckoned from *Ninus*, the Founder of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, to the Emperor *Auguſtus*) made no Difficulty ſometimes to amuſe himſelf this Way upon an agreeable Subject.

But though *Juſtin*'s Manner of Writing is ſo excellent, that it was deemed worthy the *Auguſtan* Age, rather than that of the *Antonines*, his Elegancy of Style cannot atone for his Miſtakes in Hiſtory. *Pererius* has convicted him

of many Errors in Reference to the *Jews*, in his Commentaries upon *Daniel*; and *Vopiſcus* places him in the Rank of Hiſtorians, who could not avoid romancing. That which he cannot be excuſed in, is his Chronology, where he is ſo much miſtaken, that he is not always to be depended on. And that which makes his Fault the greater, is, that the Reputation of *Trogus Pompeius*, and the Eſteem which all the Ancients had for him, oblige Men to think that thoſe Miſcomputations in the Series of Time, are rather of the Copy than the Original, or of the Abbreviator rather than the primitive Author; which is the common Sentiment of thoſe, who have laboured moſt in the beſt Editions of *Juſtin*.

Beſt EDITIONS *of* JUSTIN.

Juſtin, Notis Variorum & *Joh. Geo. Grævii*. *Lugd. Bat.* 1683. 8vo. 5*s*.
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Integris Commentariis Variorum & Notis *Abr. Gronovii*. *Lugd. Bat.* 1719. 8vo. 7*s*.

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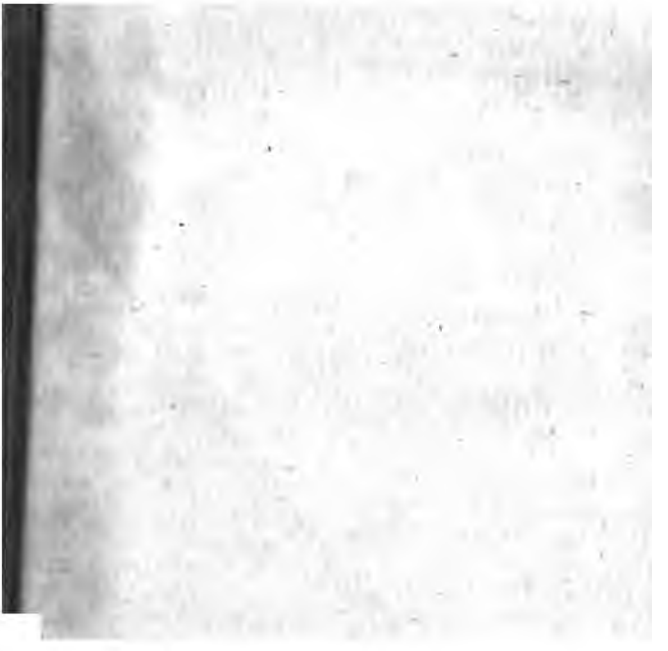

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